Archbishop Alemany Library
Dominican College
of San Rafael

The Gift of
MR. AND MRS. RICHARD DAVIS

THE PAYSON J. TREAT
COLLECTION

5809 .B74 1901
ol.5
rinkley, F. (Frank),
841-1912.
apan, its history, arts,
nd literature.

Oriental Series

JAPAN AND CHINA

MEMORIAL EDITION

Limited to One Thousand Numbered and Registered Copies, of which this is

NUMBER 496

Oriental Series

JAPAN

Its History Arts and Literature

BY

CAPTAIN F. BRINKLEY

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME V

J. B. MILLET COMPANY

BOSTON AND TOKYO

ARCHBISHOP ALEMANY L
DOMINICAN COLLEGE
SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA

Copyright, 1902
By J. B. Millet Co.

Entered at Stationers' Hall, London, England

86158

CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTER I

FINANCIAL AND ECONOMICAL CONDITIONS 1

CHAPTER II

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLITICS 28

CHAPTER III

STEPS OF PROGRESS 77

CHAPTER IV

CREED AND CASTE 108

CHAPTER V

RELIGION AND RITES 142

CHAPTER VI

SUPERSTITIONS 190

APPENDIX 249

ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Rear Corner of a Japanese House	*Frontispiece*
Raking a Rice Field	16
People of Yedo; Beginning of Nineteenth Century	32
A Japanese Cemetery	48
Yara (or Gero) of Satsuma; End of Seventeenth Century	64
Carpenters at Work	80
Threshing Grain	96
Norimono and Kaga	112
Washing Kimonos	128
Kiyomizu Temple, Kyōtō	144
Weighing Tea	160
A Fair Student	176
Group of Children	192
Wooden Bridge at Iwakuni	208
Bronze Gate and Tomb, Shiba Park, Tōkyō	224
Lunch Stand in a Public Park	240

JAPAN

ITS HISTORY ARTS AND LITERATURE

Chapter I

FINANCIAL AND ECONOMICAL CONDITIONS

FINANCIAL affairs naturally occupied a prominent place in Japan's modern career. At one time, indeed, her condition caused much uneasiness and elicited from on-lookers many predictions of disaster. But by skilful management her statesmen rescued her from embarrassment and falsified all sinister forecasts. The story of that achievement may well occupy attention for a moment.

It has been shown that in Tokugawa days the land throughout the Empire was regarded as State property, and parcelled out into numerous fiefs, the feudatories holding it in trust and being empowered to derive certain revenue from it. The standard of taxation varied more or less in different districts, but, at the time of the Restoration in 1867, the most generally recognised prin-

ciple was that four-tenths of the gross produce went into the hands of the tax-collector and six-tenths to the farmer. This rule applied to the rice crop only, the assessments for other kinds of produce being levied, partly in money and partly in manufactured goods, at rates often of a very arbitrary nature. Forced labour also was exacted, and tradesmen were subjected to monetary levies as official necessity arose. Neglecting all these factors of uncertain dimensions, since they do not admit of arithmetical statement for the purposes of a general review, and taking the case of rice only, the data are that the total yield of that crop in 1867 was 154,000,000 bushels, approximately, of which the market value then ruling was 24,000,000 pounds sterling, or 240,000,000 *yen*, and it follows that the grain tax alone represented 96,000,000 *yen* on the lowest calculation, the farmers' portion being 144,000,000. Thus much premised, a basis is obtained for comparing the burdens of the people in *ante-Meiji* and in *post-Meiji* days.

When the administration reverted to the Throne in 1867, the central treasury was of course empty, and the funds hitherto employed for governmental purposes in the fiefs did not at once begin to flow into the coffers of the State. They continued to be devoted to the support of the feudatories, to the payment of the *samurai*, and to defraying the expenses of local administration, the central treasury receiving only what-

ever small fraction remained after these various outlays. The *Shōgun* himself did not, on abdicating, hand over to the sovereign either the contents of his treasury or the control of the lands from which he derived his revenues. He contended that funds for the government of the nation as a whole should be levied from the people at large. Matters were further complicated by the fact that the impecunious Ministry had to engage in campaigns which, though they placed the treasury in command of some limited sources of revenue, had also the effect of augmenting its liabilities.

The little band of men who had assumed the direction of national affairs saw no exit from the dilemma except an issue of paper money. This was not a novelty in Japan. Paper money had been known to the people since the middle of the seventeenth century, and at the moment of the mediatisation of the fiefs, no less than sixteen hundred and ninety-four varieties of notes were circulating in the various districts. There were gold notes, silver notes, *cash* notes, rice notes, umbrella notes, ribbon notes, lathe-article notes, and so on through an interminable list, the circulation of each kind being limited to the confines of the issuing fief. Many of these notes had served a useful purpose in tradal transactions, but those officially issued by the feudal chiefs had in some cases ceased to have any purchasing power, and must in every case have become valueless when the fiefs ceased

to exist. The first duty of a centralised, progressive administration should have been to reform the currency: to substitute uniform and sound media of exchange for these unsecured tokens, which hampered trade, destroyed credit, and opposed barriers to commercial intercourse between neighbouring provinces and districts. The political leaders of the time appreciated that duty, but instead of proceeding to discharge it, they saw themselves compelled by stress of circumstances to adopt the very device which, in the hands of the feudal chiefs, had produced such bad results. It was an irksome necessity, and the new Government sought to relieve its conscience and preserve its moral prestige by pretending that the object of the issue was to encourage wealth-earning enterprise, and that the notes would be lent to the fiefs for the purpose of promoting commerce and industry. The people appraised these euphemisms at their true worth, and the new notes fell to a discount of fifty per cent. Then ensued a brief but sharp struggle between rulers and ruled. The Government resorted to arbitrary measures, sometimes of great severity, to force its notes into circulation at par with silver. But there was no continuity of policy. One day, men were imprisoned for discounting paper tokens; the next, they were released. In December the authorities officially recognised a depreciation of twenty per cent; in the following April they withdrew the recogni-

tion and proclaimed the equality of specie and paper. Now they promised to redeem the notes in thirteen years; then they shortened the period to five, and again they postponed it indefinitely. Nothing is more notable than the fact that, despite this bewilderment and vacillation, the Government's financial credit gradually acquired strength, so that within five years, though the issues of fiduciary paper aggregated nearly 60,000,000 *yen*, the notes circulated freely throughout the whole Empire at par with silver, and even commanded, at one time, a small premium. It is true that by this epoch the revenues of all the fiefs had become available for the service of the State, and that only one-tenth of their total had been appropriated for the support of the territorial nobles. But the Central Government, having diminished the taxes to about one-half of their former total, as will presently be shown, found the public income too small for the expenditures. The paper money of the fiefs, amounting to 25,000,000 *yen*, had been exchanged for treasury notes. The building of railways had been commenced. The foundations of an army and a navy had been laid. A postal system, a telegraph system, a prison system, a police system, and an educational system had been organised. The construction of roads, the improvement of harbours, the lighting and buoying of the coast, had been vigorously undertaken. A mercantile marine had been created.

Public works had been inaugurated on a considerable scale. Many industrial enterprises had been started under official auspices as object-lessons for the people, and large sums in aid of similar projects had been lent to private persons. Thus the Government, living far beyond its income, had unavoidable recourse to further issues of fiat paper, and in proportion as the volume of the latter exceeded the actual currency requirements of the time, its value depreciated, until, in 1881, fourteen years after the Restoration, notes to the face value of 150,000,000 *yen* had been put into circulation, and eighteen paper *yen* could be purchased with ten silver coins of the same denomination. On the other hand, the treasury held only 8,000,000 *yen* in specie, or about one-nineteenth of its total note issues, and no prospect of a return to hard-money payments could be discerned by the public. The Government indeed was not without a sense of its responsibilities. Fitful efforts had been made to strengthen the specie value of the fiat paper by purchasing quantities of it from time to time, an operation which inured chiefly to the benefit of speculators on 'change, and large sums — totalling 23,000,000 *yen* — had been devoted to the promotion of various industries in the hope that their products would go to swell the list of exports and thus draw gold and silver into the country. But, in 1881, it became evident that these superficial devices must be abandoned, and

that unless a sound programme were adopted and steadily pursued, the credit of the country would be seriously injured. The Government therefore determined to shape its policy in acordance with two distinct ends, first, reduction of the volume of fiduciary notes in circulation, and, secondly, accumulation of a specie reserve. The means chosen were simple.

By applying the pruning-knife boldly to administrative expenditures; by transferring certain charges from the treasury to the local communes; by suspending all grants in aid of provincial public works and private enterprises, and by a moderate increase of the tax on alcohol, an annual surplus of revenue, totalling 7,500,000 *yen*, was secured. This was employed in reducing the volume of the notes in circulation. Then, in order to amass a specie reserve, it was resolved that all officially conducted industrial and agricultural works should be sold — since their purpose of instruction and example seemed now to have been sufficiently achieved, — and that the proceeds, together with various securities held by the treasury and aggregating 26,000,000 *yen* in face value, should be used for purchasing gold and silver. The latter was a delicate and difficult operation. Had the Government entered the market openly as a seller of its own fiduciary notes for specie, its credit must have suffered. There were, also, ample reasons to doubt whether any available stores of precious metal remained in the country.

In obedience to elementary economical laws, the cheap money had steadily driven out the dear, and although the Government mint at Ōsaka, founded in 1871, had struck 80,000,000 *yen* worth of gold and silver coins between that date and 1881, when the policy here described was inaugurated, the customs returns showed that a great part of this metallic currency had flowed out of the country. Under these circumstances Japanese financiers decided that only one course offered: the treasury must play the part of national banker. The State must advance paper money to producers and manufacturers engaged in the export trade, on condition that when their goods were sold abroad, the specie thus obtained should be handed over to the treasury. This programme required the establishment of Consulates in the chief marts of the Occident, and the organisation of a great central bank — the present Bank of Japan — as well as of a secondary bank — the present Specie Bank of Yohohama, — the former to conduct transactions with native producers and manufacturers, the latter to finance the business of exportation. The outcome of these various arrangements was that, by the middle of 1885, the volume of fiduciary notes had been reduced to 119,000,000 *yen*, their depreciation had fallen to three per cent, and the metallic reserve of the treasury had increased to 45,000,000 *yen*. The resumption of specie payments was then announced, and be-

came, in the autumn of that year, an accomplished fact.

Viewed by the light of results, the above facts constitute a fine economical feat, nor can it be denied that the statesmen who directed Japan's finances at that critical time showed clear insight, good organising capacity, and courageous energy. While these events were in progress, however, they elicited a great deal of adverse criticism from Europeans and Americans. Many onlooking strangers were prepared each with an infallible nostrum of his own, the rejection of which convinced him of Japan's hopeless stupidity. Now, she was charged with robbing her own people because she bought their goods at home with paper money and sold them abroad for specie; again, she was accused of an official conspiracy to ruin the foreign local banks because she purchased exporters' bills on Europe and America at rates that defied ordinary competition; and while some declared that she was plainly without any understanding of her own doings, others, averring that she could not possibly extricate herself from the slough of an inflated and largely depreciated fiat currency without recourse to European capital, predicted that her heroic method of dealing with the problem would paralyse industry, interrupt trade, produce wide-spread suffering, and, in short, bring about the advent of the proverbial "seven other devils." Undoubtedly, to carry the currency of a nation from a discount of fifty or sixty

per cent to par in the course of four years, reducing its volume at the same time from 150,000,000 to 119,000,000, was a financial enterprise violent and daring almost to rashness. The gentler expedient of a foreign loan — an expedient of recently proved efficacy in Italy's case — would have commended itself to the majority of economists. But it may be here stated, once for all, that until her adoption of gold monometallism in 1897,[1] the foreign money market was practically closed to Japan. Had she borrowed abroad, it must have been on a sterling basis. Receiving a fixed sum in silver, she would have had to discharge her debt in rapidly appreciating gold. Twice, indeed, she had recourse to London for small sums, but when she came to cast up her accounts, the cost of the accommodation stood out in deterrent proportions. A nine per cent loan, placed in England in 1868 and paid off in 1889, produced 4,750,000 *yen*, and cost altogether 11,750,000, in round figures; and a seven per cent loan, made in 1872 and paid off in 1897, produced 10,750,000, and cost 36,000,000. These considerations were supplemented by a strong aversion to incurring pecuniary obligations to Western States before the latter had consented to restore Japan's judicial and tariff autonomy, a point which will be explained by and by. The example of Egypt showed what kind of fate might overtake a semi-independent State falling

[1] See Appendix, note 1.

into the clutches of foreign bond-holders. Japan did not wish to fetter herself with foreign debts while struggling to emerge from the rank of Oriental Powers. After all, nothing succeeds like success. Japanese financiers made a signal success. Having undertaken to re-organise the administration of an empire, and to inaugurate a vast programme of reform, they met the difficulty of an empty treasury by issuing fiat notes, and then, fourteen years later, grappling boldly with the problem of this inflated and heavily depreciated currency, they restored its value to par and resumed specie payments in the brief space of four years.

It is advisable at this point to examine the question of the national debt incurred by Japan since the unification of the Empire.

As already stated, when the fiefs were surrendered to the sovereign, it was decided to provide for the feudal nobles and the *samurai* generally by the payment of lump sums in commutation, or by handing to them public bonds the interest on which should constitute a source of income. The result of this transaction, the details of which need not be set forth, was that bonds having a total face value of 191,500,000 *yen* were issued, and ready-money payments aggregating 21,250,000 *yen* were made.[1] This was the foundation of Japan's national debt. Indeed, these public bonds may be said to have repre-

[1] See Appendix, note 2.

sented the bulk of the State's liabilities during the first twenty-five years of the *Meiji* period. The Government had also to take over the debts of the fiefs, amounting to 41,000,000 *yen*, of which 21,500,000 were paid with interest-bearing bonds, the remainder with ready money. If to the above figures be added two foreign loans aggregating 16,500,000 *yen* (completely repaid by the *yen* 1897); a loan of 15,000,000 *yen* incurred on account of the only serious rebellion that marked the passage from the old to the new régime — the Satsuma revolt of 1877; loans of 33,000,000 *yen* for public works, 13,000,000 *yen* for naval construction, and 14,500,000[1] in connection with the fiat currency, there results a total of 305,000,000 *yen*, being the whole national debt of Japan during the first twenty-eight years of her new era under Imperial administration.

The above statements sufficiently explain the liabilities incurred by the country during what may be called the first epoch of her modern financial history. There remains to be considered the second epoch, dating from the war with China, which occurred in 1894–1895.

The direct expenditures on account of the war aggregated 200,000,000 *yen*, of which total 135,000,000 were added to the national debt, the remainder being defrayed with accumulations of surplus revenue, with a part of the indemnity

[1] See Appendix, note 3.

received from China, and with voluntary contributions from patriotic persons. In the immediate sequel of the war, the Government elaborated a large programme of armaments' expansion and public works. The army, at the time of the war, consisted of six divisions and the Imperial Guards; the peace establishment being 70,000, and the war strength, 268,000. The navy comprised thirty-three vessels — exclusive of twenty-six torpedo boats — representing a displacement of 63,000 tons. It was resolved to raise the number of divisions to twelve, with a peace establishment of 145,000 and a war strength of 560,000, and the navy to sixty-seven ships[1] (besides eleven torpedo-destroyers and one hundred and fifteen torpedo boats) with an aggregate displacement of 258,000 tons. The expenditures for these unproductive purposes, as well as for coast fortifications, dockyards, and so on, came to 314,000,000 *yen*, and the total of the productive expenditures included in the programme was 190,000,000 *yen*, — namely, 120,000,000 for railways, telegraphs, and telephones; 20,000,000 for riparian improvements;[2] 20,000,000 in aid of industrial and agricultural banks, and so forth — the whole programme thus involving an outlay of 504,000,000 *yen*. To meet this large figure, the Chinese indemnity, surpluses of annual revenue and other assets, furnished 300,000,000, and it was decided that the remaining 204,000,000

[1] See Appendix, note 4.

[2] See Appendix, note 5.

should be obtained by domestic loans, the programme to be carried completely into operation — with trifling exceptions — by the year 1905. In practice, however, it was found impossible to obtain money at home without paying a high rate of interest. The Government, therefore, had recourse to the London market in 1899, raising a loan of 100,000,000 *yen* at four per cent and selling the 100-*yen* bonds at 90. Evidently a further loan must be obtained abroad, for money commands such a high price in the domestic market that the State cannot afford to use home capital. This somewhat wearisome array of figures may be concluded by noting that, according to present arrangements, Japan's national indebtedness will reach its maximum, namely, 575,000,000 *yen*, in the year 1903, and will thenceforward diminish steadily.[1]

It remains to consider briefly the annual revenues and expenditures of the State, and the manner of their growth during recent years.

The burden of taxation is small, especially compared with the career of vigorous progress upon which the country has embarked. Only 120,000,000 *yen* is raised by direct taxes, that is to say, something less than three *yen* (six shillings) per head of population. The sources are these: —

[1] See Appendix, note 6.

	Million yen
Land tax	46½
Income tax	5½
Business tax	6
Sake (rice wine) tax	55
Soy (fish sauce) tax	3
Miscellaneous Taxes	4
Total	120

A further sum of 81,000,000 *yen* is obtained by indirect taxation, namely: —

	Million yen
Customs and tonnage dues	15¾
State undertakings (railways, posts, telegraphs, tobacco monopoly, and forests)	46½
Stamp duties	13½
Miscellaneous	5¼
Total	81

On the other hand, the ordinary expenditures aggregate 164,000,000 *yen*. Thus there is a surplus of 37,000,000 *yen*. At present this surplus is absorbed for extraordinary and terminable enterprises forming part of the *post-bellum* programme described above, but in a short time the country may look forward to finding itself with a substantial annual balance on the right side.

In spite of the conclusive evidence furnished by figures such as the above, an impression prevails in Europe and America that Japan's financial condition is not sound. People seem to be influenced solely by the fact that her expenditure has grown with striking rapidity, and to forget altogether not only that the Treasury is every year

applying large surpluses of ordinary revenue to carry out enterprises which have nothing to do with the usual routine of administration, but also that when these *post-bellum* undertakings are brought to a conclusion, the State will find itself with an income greatly exceeding its outlays. It is further habitually alleged that Japan's revenue has been unduly increased during recent years, and that the burden of taxation is becoming intolerable. Perhaps the simplest way of dealing with that allegation is to quote the statement made by way of preface to this review, namely, that at the time of the mediatisation of the fiefs the people were paying a sum of at least 96,000,000 *yen* in the form of a grain tax alone, whereas the corresponding impost (land tax) amounts now to only 46,500,000. Besides, this 46,500,000 *yen* cannot justly be regarded as a tax in the ordinary acceptation of the term. Up to the time of the mediatisation of the fiefs, all the land in the Empire being the property of the State, its tenants could not dispose of it at will, nor had they any right of possession in it. The sum they paid in kind to their rulers consequently represented a rent for use of the land rather than a tax. That distinction became still more emphatic after the fall of feudalism, for the land was then declared the absolute property of its tenants, the only condition attached being perennial liability to pay as compensation to the original owner, namely, the State, an annual sum equal to about one and one-

fourth per cent of the market value of the land. In short, the farmers entered into absolute possession of the fields they had hitherto cultivated as mere tenants, and in return for being transformed into owners they were required to pay a rent assessed on a basis of eighty years' purchase. An agriculturist in England or America would certainly think himself singularly fortunate if a farm were declared his property without any condition except the yearly payment of a rent not even amounting to one-fourth of that usually charged for the mere privilege of tenancy. It would scarcely occur to him to claim that such a rent should be considered as including his taxes. Yet that is the case with the Japanese farmer. He pays no tax whatever unless his very petty rent can be held to be partly a tax. It is true that he is liable for income tax in common with all his countrymen; but the income tax in Japan is so graduated that the lower classes are scarcely sensible of its incidence, and at any rate the total sum collected under that heading from a nation of 44,000,000 is only 550,000 pounds, or an average of three pennies per head.[1] But an inquiry limited to the case of the agricultural population does not satisfactorily account for the fact that whereas the ordinary revenue of the State was 78,000,000 *yen* ten years ago (1891), it is now 201,000,000, having increased to the startling extent of two hundred and eighty-six per cent in

[1] See Appendix, note 7.

one decade. Before inferring, however, from these figures that the burdens of the people have increased to a corresponding degree, it must be noted, in the first place, that the revenue includes an important item quite independent of taxation, namely, receipts from Government enterprises and properties (as railways, posts, telegraphs, telephones, factories, forests, etc.) ; an item which naturally grows with the country's prosperity. The income from this source ten years ago was 8,500,000 *yen;* to-day it is 46,500,000. In considering the revenue derived from taxes, profits of such a nature must be omitted, and if that correction be applied, the revenue for 1890–1891 becomes 96,250,000 *yen*, and that for 1901–1902 is reduced to 154,500,000. Further, to correctly estimate the weight of the people's fiscal burden, it is necessary to exclude the taxes on *sake* and tobacco, as well as the customs dues, for the two former need not be paid by any person desiring to avoid them, and the customs are an indirect impost scarcely felt by buyers of imported goods. The *sake* tax produced only 15,000,000 *yen* ten years ago ; to-day it produces 55,000,000, the tobacco tax produced nearly 2,000,000 in 1890–1891, and is now included in the receipts from Government industries ; and the corresponding figures for customs dues are 4,000,000 and 15,250,000. Thus corrected, — the miscellaneous receipts also being omitted, — it results that the revenue raised by taxation at present is 78,250,000

yen against 48,250,000 in 1890–1891, the increase being nearly sixty per cent.

Such figures cannot be said to indicate any excessive addition to the burden of taxation, even if the arithmetic alone be considered. It is necessary to look beyond the arithmetic, however, and to observe that there has been a large development of national wealth and a large appreciation of the prices of commodities during the past ten years. In 1891 the *yen* was worth three shillings three pence, whereas it is now worth only two shillings. Thus, reduced to sterling, the taxes ten years ago were 7,900,000 pounds, whereas now they are 7,830,000. Of course it may be said that Japan has nothing to do with sterling values, the *yen* being simply a *yen* to her people, and not so many shillings and pence. But the price of Japanese labour and the prices of the commodities it produces have appreciated even more sharply than gold has appreciated during the past ten years. The labour that earned only twenty-four *sen* in 1891 can easily earn more than thirty-nine *sen* today, and of course it is proportionately easier for the producing classes to pay their taxes at present. In fact, the tax-payer is much more favourably circumstanced now than he was ten years ago. People receiving fixed salaries, as administrative and judicial officials, persons engaged in education, etc., have had no increase of income to compensate them for increased taxation or for the sharp appreciation of prices. But such persons form a small

fraction of the nation. All the other classes are earning more and possess much larger property. On the other hand, their taxes have not undergone any proportionate increase, and instead of saying that the nation is embarrassed by the payments it has to make to the State, the truth is that it pays relatively less than it did ten years ago.

Looking at the figures from another point of view, it is necessary to admit that excellent financial management is required in order that the nation of 43,500,000 inhabitants, which maintains an army of half a million men and a fleet of 258,000 tons, may pay its way at a cost of some 16,000,000 pounds sterling. Such a feat presents itself in a scarcely credible light to Occidental statesmen. Again, observing that the annual expense of maintaining the army and navy is only 55,000,000 *yen*, whereas the tax on *sake* (rice wine) alone yields 55,000,000, and noting that this tax — which falls on a luxury — grew from 4,000,000 *yen* in 1891 to 55,000,000 in 1900, it seems plain that if the country has greatly increased its armaments, there has been found, at the same time, a compensatory source of revenue which does not add seriously to the burdens of the people at large.

Another factor which has operated injuriously to Japan's credit is that her politicians, by assaults upon the budget in the Diet and by clamouring for a reduction of the land tax as well as of official salaries, greatly misled the foreign

public. That this outcry was merely a convenient weapon for attacking the Cabinet and courting favour with the constituencies, was amply proved in the sequel, when these same agitators voted to increase the land tax and to augment official salaries. But they had sustained the clamour so vigorously and incessantly during session after session of the Diet, that the world ultimately learned to think of Japan as a country crushed by a weight of taxation which the people's representatives were vainly struggling to lighten, and preyed upon by a number of overpaid officials whom the Diet was seeking to deprive of their excessive emoluments. Accepting the estimates made by the Japanese themselves, Europe and America regarded Japan as an embarrassed State, instead of recognising the abundance and elasticity of her resources.

The wealth of Japan is a subject which has not yet been investigated so thoroughly that an altogether trustworthy statement can be made. The following figures are the closest approximations possible at present:—

	Millions of Yen
Value of lands (agricultural, building, forest, etc.)	3,600
Value of buildings	1,100
Value of household furniture and utensils	550
Value of cattle, horses, fowls, etc.	60
Value of railways	250
Value of mercantile marine	33
Value of merchandise	430
Gold and silver bullion and coins	250
Miscellaneous	2,000
Total	8,273

It will be observed that this sum is approximately one-tenth of the accumulated capital of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. That is what might have been expected, for, speaking roughly, money is ten times as valuable in Japan as in England.

With regard to the income derived by Japan from her capital, the following figures are deduced from the best statistics:—

	Millions of Yen.
Products of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	750
Produce of mines	30
Manufactured articles	400
Land transport earnings	90
Water transport earnings	15
House rent	28
Profits on foreign trade	25
Banking profits	27
Profits on business	98
Total	1,463

Concerning the distribution of wealth in Japan, it has only recently become possible to form a trustworthy estimate. Careful investigations now show, however, that the number of men possessing property valued at fifty thousand pounds sterling and upwards, does not exceed 441. Comparing this record with American statistics, for example, it appears that whereas there are 3,828 persons in the United States credited with possessing at least two hundred thousand pounds, or in other words one for every twenty thousand inhabitants, there is in Japan only one owner of fifty thousand pounds for every hundred thousand

of the population. The contrast is very striking. Japan differs from America in another respect also, namely, that few Japanese amass great fortunes in a lifetime. Of the 441 persons spoken of above, not more than sixty are *nouveaux riches*.

Reference may be made here to the question of Japan's gold-mining capacity, about which many doubts have been expressed by European and American writers. At present her annual output of the yellow metal is not quite two tons, a small contribution to the total of 470 tons produced throughout the world. Nevertheless the ratio of her auriferous area to the whole extent of her territory is a larger figure than that for any other country, her gold-mines being scattered all over the Empire from north to south. The trouble is that metallurgical art is very imperfectly developed. Various restrictions have hitherto debarred Western enterprise from entering this field, and the Japanese themselves lack capital, if not knowledge, to apply the latest scientific methods. Very little of the gold produced in former times remains in the country. Calculations indicate that between 1620 and 1766 about 15,000,000 sterling worth of the metal were exported to China and Holland, with at least an equal quantity of silver.

Rapid development of the country's resources has taken place during the *Meiji* era, and is still taking place. The conditions were never previously so favourable. All classes of the people

are now equal in the sight of the law, perfect security exists for life and property, the people are guaranteed against oppression or extortion on the part of their rulers, and a full measure of personal freedom is enjoyed. A comprehensive idea of the growth that has been encouraged by these circumstances may be obtained from the table on pages 26 and 27, where the statistical facts are tabulated for intervals of every five years.

Japan's great difficulty is want of capital. The capital actually engaged in public and private enterprises is 60,000,000 pounds sterling, in round numbers, and 79,000,000 more are pledged though not yet paid up. On the other hand, the volume of circulating media is only 25,000,000, of which amount 22,000,000 consist of convertible notes; the deposits in the banks total 33,000,000, and their capitals aggregate 49,500,000.[1] Under such circumstances the rate of interest is necessarily high — it averages about twelve per cent throughout the Empire — and many profitable enterprises remain undeveloped. Recourse to cheap foreign capital would be the natural exit from the dilemma. But so long as her currency was on a silver basis, Japan hesitated to contract gold debts, and European capitalists would not lend in terms of silver. Now that she has adopted the gold standard, her situation should be more favourable. Europe and America,

[1] See Appendix, note 8.

however, have not yet acquired confidence in her integrity, or ceased to regard her as a *terra incognita*, and in the meanwhile a great opening for foreign capital vainly offers in the field of industrial enterprise. Recent returns issued by sixty-eight joint stock companies show that they paid an average annual dividend of sixteen and one-half per cent, and it is not to be doubted that still better results could be attained were foreign business experience and cheap capital available.

	1883	1888	1893	1898
Average rate of interest .	?	14.34	13.5	10.8
Loans issued by banks (in millions of yen) . . .	207	351	513	2,659
Deposits in banks by private persons (in millions of yen)	342	489	1,068	5,039
Deposits remaining in banks at close of year (in millions of yen)	20	29	59	319
Clearing-house transactions in Ōsaka and Tōkyō (in millions of yen) . . .	—	29 ½	211 ½	914
Average price of 42 staple articles, the figure for 1887 being taken as 100 . .	—	102	118	181
Average rate of wages for 50 kinds of artisans, etc., the figure for 1887 being taken as 100	—	101	125	197
Price of rice in Tōkyō (in yen per *koku* — 4.96 bushels)	6.44	4.97	7.40	14.71
Total foreign trade (in millions of yen)	65	131	178	443
Production of rice (in millions of bushels) . . .	152	191 ½	184 ½	235 [1]
Production of wheat (in millions of bushels) . . .	58 ⅓	65 ¾	82 ½	91 ½
Production of tea (in millions of lbs.)	44 ½	60	63 ¼	70
Production of cocoons (in millions of bushels) . .	5.50	5.87	8.36	10.05
Production of sugar (millions of lbs.)	?	112 ¾	110 ½	109
Production of gold (lbs.) .	672 ½	1,025 ¾	1,545 ¾	2,023 ¾
Production of silver (lbs.) .	38,378	78,644	131,395	122,362
Production of copper (tons)	5,536	10,905	20,464	20,098
Production of iron (tons) .	14,623	15,050	18,600	27,591
Production of coal (tons) .	929,213	1,746,296	3,176,640	5,888,157
Production of petroleum (gallons)	806,505	332,686	533,210	9,179,473 [2]
Production of sulphur (tons)	1,742	10,627	20,193	13,388
Production of raw silk (lbs.)	3,398,476	6,168,194	10,193,327	12,322,305
Production of cotton yarns (millions of lbs.) . . .		13	83 ⅓	277 ¾
Production of woven goods (value in millions of yen)	?	30 ½	58 ½	143 ¾

[1] An abnormal year. The rice crop in Japan is subject to great fluctuations owing to climatic influences. Thus the crop in 1897 was only 163 millions of bushels.

[2] There has been a great development of the petroleum industry during recent years.

	1883	1888	1893	1898
Production of matches (millions of cases each containing 144 doz. boxes)	?	10[1]	19	22 ¼
Production of salt (millions of bushels)	8 ¾	25	33	30 ½
Marine products (millions of yen)	?	15 ⅓[2]	20 ¼	60 ⅔
Area of rice land (millions of acres)	6.319	6.581	6.785	6.903
Area of wheat land (millions of acres)	3,584	3,972	4,272	4,426
Area of tea-plantations (acres)	102,956	119,021	149,665	143,687
Area of mulberry plantations (acres)	275,411	537,662	596,227	749,347
Capital of agricultural companies (millions of yen)	1.234	1.620	2,542	3,612
Capital of commercial companies (millions of yen)	31.451	39.870	57.616	144.312
Capital of industrial companies (millions of yen)	5.048	39.032	78.258	177.452
Capital of railway companies (millions of yen)	5.965	31.870	57.945	214.006
Capital of banks (millions of yen)	75.650	92.096	111.634	384.876
Amount of marine insurance policies issued (millions of yen)	15.464	20.299	139.992	794.058
Amount of fire insurance policies issued (millions of yen)		.147	21.502	142.486
Amount of life insurance policies issued (millions of yen)	1.005	3.235	23.048	152.194
Number of persons adjudicated bankrupt	22,492	6,663	3,141	1,203
Total liabilities of bankrupts (yen)	3,542,386	1,462,165	409,480	172,091
Development of railways (miles)	188	861	1,693	3,420
Developments of telegraphs (mileage of lines) mercantile marine —	5,175	6,534	9,049	13,922
Steamers (number)	390	524	680	1,130
Steamer (tonnage)	45,350	81,066	110,205	477,430
Volume of media of exchange in circulation (millions of yen)	139	173	203 ½	221 ½

[1] This figure is for 1889, the earliest record of the match industry, which began to be followed about the year 1886.

[2] This figure is for 1889, exact statistics not being previously obtainable.

Chapter II

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLITICS

ONE of the most memorable incidents of Japan's modern career was her recovery of judicial autonomy; in other words, the removal of disabilities which had excluded her from the comity of Western States.

It has always been considered expedient that the subjects and citizens of Occidental Christian countries, when they visit or reside in non-Christian Oriental lands, should be exempted from the penalties and procedure prescribed by the latter's criminal law; that they should continue, in short, to enjoy, even within the territories of such countries, the privilege of being arraigned before tribunals of their own nationality and tried by judges of their own race. In civil cases a division of jurisdiction is effected, the question at issue being always adjudicated by a tribunal of the defendant's nationality; but in criminal cases jurisdiction is wholly reserved. In pursuance of that principle the various Powers having treaties with Oriental nations establish Consular Courts within the latter's borders, and the jurisdiction exercised by these Courts is called "extra-territorial" to dis-

tinguish it from the jurisdiction exercised by native, or territorial, tribunals. The system was applied to Japan's case, as a matter of course, in 1858. It had been similarly applied in the sixteenth century, in the days of her first foreign intercourse; and just as it had then been one cause of the Dutch traders' imprisonment within the narrow limits of the island of Deshima at Nagasaki, so, in the nineteenth century, it necessitated the confinement of the foreign residents in settlements grouped around the sites of their consular courts; for plain principles of prudence forbade that these residents should have free access to provincial districts far remote from the only tribunals competent to control them. The Japanese negotiators in Yedo raised no objection to the embodiment of this system in the treaties. But it was one of the features most vehemently condemned by the conservative statesmen and politicians in Kōytō, and no sooner had the administration been restored to the Emperor than an embassy was despatched to Europe and America with the object of inducing Occidental Governments to revise the treaties in the sense of abolishing consular jurisdiction and changing the tariff so as to enable Japan to obtain a larger revenue from customs duties.[1]

This embassy sailed in 1871. It had a specific right to raise the question, for the treaties contained a provision declaring them to be subject to

[1] See Appendix, note 9.

revision in that year. As a matter of course, the embassy failed. The conditions originally necessitating consular jurisdiction had not undergone any change justifying its abolition. Neither the character of Japan's laws nor the methods of her judicial procedure were such as to warrant foreign Governments in entrusting to her care the lives and properties of their subjects and citizens.

It must be confessed, on the other hand, that the consular courts themselves were not beyond reproach. A few of the Great Powers, notably England and the United States, organised competent tribunals and appointed expert judicial officials to preside over them. But a majority of the treaty States were content to delegate consular duties to merchants, who not only lacked legal training of any kind, but were themselves engaged in the commercial transactions upon which they might at any moment be required to adjudicate in a magisterial capacity. Thus it happened, sometimes, that a Japanese subject desiring to invoke the aid of the law against a foreigner who seemed to have wronged him, found that the defendant in the case would also be the judge. Under any circumstances, the dual functions of consul and judge could not be discharged by the same official without anomaly, for the rôle of consul compelled him to act as advocate in the initiatory stages of complications about which his rôle of judge might ultimately require him to deliver an impartial ruling. It would be an

error to suppose, however, that the course of consular jurisdiction in Japan was disfigured by many abuses. On the whole the system worked satisfactorily, and if it hurt the feelings of patriotic Japanese, it also saved them from innumerable complications into which they would have blundered inevitably had they been entrusted with a jurisdiction which they were not prepared to exercise satisfactorily.

Nevertheless, they determined from the first that no effort should be spared to qualify for the exercise of a right which is among the fundamental attributes of every sovereign State, the right of judicial autonomy. Under any circumstances, the recasting of their laws and the reorganisation of their law courts would have occupied a prominent place in the programme of general reform suggested by contact with the Western world; but the "extra-territorial" question certainly stirred them to special legislative efforts. With the aid of foreign experts they set themselves to elaborate codes of criminal and civil law, excerpting the best features of European jurisprudence and adapting them to the conditions and usages of Japan. They also remodelled their law courts, and took steps, slower but not less earnest, to educate a judiciary competent to administer the new codes.

After twelve years devoted, with partial success, to these great works, Japan, in 1883, renewed her request for the abolition of consular jurisdic-

tion. She asked that all foreigners within her borders, without distinction of nationality, should be subject to her laws and judicable by her law courts as foreigners found within the borders of every sovereign State in the Occident are subject to its laws and judicable by its tribunals of justice, and she supplemented her application by promising that its favourable reception should be followed by complete opening of the country and removal of all restrictions hitherto imposed on foreign trade, travel, and residence in her realm. From the first it had been the habit of Occidental peoples to upbraid Japan on account of the barriers opposed by her to full and free international intercourse, and she was now able to claim that the barriers were no longer created by her intention or maintained by her desire, but that they existed because of a system which theoretically proclaimed her unfitness for free association with Western nations and practically made it impossible for her to throw open her territories completely for the ingress of strangers.

A large volume might be filled with the details of the negotiations that followed Japan's proposal. Never before had an Oriental State sought such recognition, and there was extreme reluctance on the part of Western Powers to try the unprecedented experiment of entrusting the lives and properties of their subjects and citizens to the keeping of a "pagan" people. Only the outlines of the story can be sketched here, though several

PEOPLE OF YEDO; BEGINNING OF NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. Hair-dresser.
2. *Kōmuso*.
3. Blind Shampooer.
4. Goods Cart.
5. Samurai and attendants.
6. Actor in Female Costume.
7. Travelling Actor.
8. *Rōnin*.
9. Fortune-Teller.
10. Wrestler.
11. Physician and attendant.
12. Fishmonger.
13. Seller of Toilet Articles.

of its incidents do as much credit to Japan's patience and tact as its finale does to the justice and liberality of Occidental Governments.

There is one page of the history that calls for special notice, since it supplies a key to much which would otherwise be inexplicable. The respect entertained by a nation for its own laws, and the confidence it reposes in their administrators are in direct proportion to the efforts it has expended upon the development of the former and the education of the latter. Foreigners residing in Japan naturally clung to consular jurisdiction as a privilege of inestimable value. They saw, indeed, that such a system could not be permanently imposed on a country where the conditions justifying it had nominally disappeared. But they saw, also, that the legal and judicial reforms effected by Japan had been crowded into an extraordinarily brief period, and that, as tyros experimenting with alien systems, the Japanese might be betrayed into many errors. A struggle thus ensued between foreign distrust on the one side and Japanese aspirations on the other, — a struggle often developing painful phases. For whereas the case for the foreign resident stood solid and rational so long as it rested on the basis of his proper attachment to the laws and the judiciary which the efforts of his nationals, through long generations, had rendered worthy of trust and reverence, and on the equally intelligible and reasonable ground that he wanted convincing

proofs of Japan's competence to discharge her novel functions with discretion and impartiality before submitting himself to her jurisdiction, it ceased to be a solid and rational case when its champions undertook, not merely to exaggerate the risks of trusting Japan implicitly, but also to demonstrate her radical unworthiness of any trust whatever, and to depict her under aspects so deterrent that submission to her jurisdiction assumed the character of a catastrophe. The struggle lasted eleven years, but its gist is contained in this brief statement. The foreign resident, whose affection for his own systems was measured by the struggle their evolution had cost, and whose practical instincts forbade him to take anything on trust where security of person and property was concerned, would have stood out a wholesomely conservative and justly cautious figure, had not his attitude been disfigured by local journalists, who, in order to justify his conservatism, allowed themselves to be betrayed into the constant rôle of blackening Japan's character and suggesting harshly prejudiced interpretations of her acts and motives. It is one thing to hesitate before entering a new house until its habitable qualifications have been ascertained. It is another thing to condemn it without trial as radically and necessarily deficient in such qualifications. The latter was, in effect, the line often taken by the noisiest opponents of Japan's claims, and, of course, no little resentment and indigna-

tion were aroused on the side of the Japanese, who, chafing against the obvious antipathies of their foreign critics, and growing constantly more impatient of the humiliation to which their country was internationally condemned, were sometimes prompted to displays of resentment which became new weapons in the hands of their critics. Throughout this struggle the Government and citizens of the United States always showed conspicuous sympathy with Japanese aspirations, and it should also be recorded that, with exceptions so rare as to establish the rule, foreign tourists and publicists discussed the problem liberally and fairly, perhaps because, unlike the foreign communities resident in Japan, they had no direct interest in its solution.

It would be erroneous to suppose that responsibility for the singularly protracted character of the negotiations for revision rested entirely on the foreign side. More than once an agreement had reached the verge of conclusion, when Japanese public opinion, partly incited by political intrigues, rebelled vehemently against the guarantees demanded of Japan, and the negotiations were interrupted in consequence, not to be again resumed until a considerable interval had elapsed. This point is easily understood by recalling that whereas, at the outset of the discussion, Japanese officialdom had the matter entirely in its own hands and might have settled it on any basis, however liberal to foreigners, without provoking,

for the moment at all events, seriously hostile criticism on the part of the nation, there gradually grew up among the people, *pari passu*, with journalistic development, with the study of international law, and with the organisation of political parties, a strong sense of what an independent State has a right to expect; and thus the longer the negotiations were protracted, the keener became the popular scrutiny to which they were subjected and the greater the general reluctance to endorse any irksome concessions. Had foreign diplomacy recognised the growth of that sentiment and been content to take moderate advantage of the Japanese negotiators' mood, the issue might have been comparatively satisfactory to foreigners. But by asking too much and haggling too long, Western statesmen lost their opportunity of obtaining any substantial guarantees, and had ultimately to hand over their nationals to Japanese jurisdiction virtually on trust.

The end was reached in 1894, when Great Britain agreed that after an interval of five years, ending in July, 1899, Japanese tribunals should assume jurisdiction over all British subjects within the confines of Japan, the only condition imposed being that the new Japanese codes of law—some of which had not yet emerged from the hands of the compilers—must have been in operation for a period of at least one year before the abolition of British Consular jurisdiction. Japan, on her side, undertook that, simultaneously with the recovery

of her judicial autonomy, the whole country should be thrown open, and all limitations upon the trade, travel, and residence of foreigners should be removed throughout the length and breadth of the land. As to tariff autonomy, it was arranged that Japan should recover it after a period of twelve years, and that in the interval a greatly increased scale of import duties should be applied.

Thus Great Britain took the lead in releasing Japan from the fetters of the old system. The initiative came from her with special grace, for the system and all its irksome consequences had been imposed on Japan originally by a combination of Powers with England in the van. As a matter of historical sequence, the United States dictated the terms of the first treaty providing for consular jurisdiction. But from a very early period the Washington Government showed its willingness to remove all limitations of Japan's sovereignty, whereas Europe, headed by England, whose preponderating interest entitled her to the place of leader, resolutely refused to make any substantial concession. In Japan's eyes, therefore, British conservatism seemed to be the one serious obstacle to her international enfranchisement, and since the British residents in the Settlements far outnumbered all other nationalities, alone had newspaper organs to ventilate their grievances, and exhibited all a Briton's proverbial indifference to the suavities and courtesies of speech and method that count for so much in

disarming resentment, it was certainly fortunate for the popularity of her subjects in the Far East that England saw her way finally to set a liberal example.

Nearly five years were required to bring the other Occidental Powers into line with Great Britain and America. It should be stated, however, that neither reluctance to make the necessary concessions nor want of sympathy with Japan caused the delay. The explanation is that each set of negotiators sought to improve either the terms or the terminology of the treaties already concluded, and that the tariff arrangements for the different countries required elaborate discussion.

Until the last of the revised treaties was ratified, voices of protest against revision continued to be vehemently raised by a large section of the foreign community in the Settlements. Some were honestly apprehensive as to the issue of the experiment. Others were swayed by racial prejudice, pure and simple. A few had fallen into an incurable habit of grumbling, or found their account in professing to champion so-called "foreign interests;" and all were naturally reluctant to forfeit the immunity from taxation hitherto enjoyed. It seemed as though the inauguration of the new system would find the foreign community in a mood which must greatly diminish the chances of a happy result, for where a captious and aggrieved disposition exists, oppor-

tunities to discover causes of complaint cannot be wanting. But at the eleventh hour this unfavourable demeanour underwent a change. So soon as it became evident that the old system was hopelessly doomed, the sound common-sense of the European and American business-man asserted itself. The foreign residents let it be seen that they intended to bow cheerfully to the inevitable, and that no obstacles would be willingly placed by them in the path of Japanese jurisdiction. The Japanese, on their side, took some striking steps. An Imperial rescript declared in unequivocal terms that it was the sovereign's policy and desire to abolish all distinctions between natives and foreigners, and that by fully carrying out the friendly purpose of the treaties his people would best consult his wishes, maintain the character of the nation, and promote its prestige. The Premier and other Ministers of State issued instructions to the effect that the responsibility now devolved on the Government, and the duty on the people, of enabling foreigners to reside confidently and contentedly in every part of the country. Even the chief Buddhist prelates addressed to the priests and parishioners in their dioceses injunctions pointing out that freedom of conscience being now guaranteed by the Constitution, men professing alien creeds must be treated as courteously as the disciples of Buddhism, and must enjoy the same rights and privileges.

Thus the great change was effected under

circumstances of happy augury. Its results have been successful thus far. Difficulties, it is true, have not been altogether absent. The Japanese have made some mistakes, and the mere novelty of the experiment predisposes the conservative foreigner to be hypercritical of its working. Never before, since the crown of civilisation was placed upon the head of the Occident, have Western Christians passed under the jurisdiction of Oriental "pagans." This unprecedented act of trust on the part of Occidental Governments did not signify a corresponding access of confidence on the part of Occidental subjects and citizens. It is a hard but a true saying that the average European or American looks down upon the Japanese people, approaches the contemplation of all their acts with a spirit of condemnation or condescension, and considers that he practises praiseworthy self-denial when he pays to Japanese laws or their guardians even a moiety of the deference that he would intuitively render under like circumstances in a Western country. Administration can never achieve more than a success of sufferance when the ruled stand upon a plane higher than that conceded to the rulers. But it has been shown, at all events, that the measure of tolerance which foreigners are prepared to display is sufficient for the working of the novel system, and that all the sinister predictions once so freely uttered about the vindictive advantage which the Japanese would certainly

take of their newly acquired power, were baseless. Foreigners residing in Japan now enjoy immunity of domicile, personal and religious liberty, freedom from official interference, and security of life and property as fully as though they were living in their respective fatherlands.

From the point of view of Japan's position among the nations, her war with China in 1894–1895 was perhaps even more important than her recovery of judicial and tariff economy, and by a singular coincidence the former event happened at such a time as materially to reinforce the influence of the latter.

Friction between the two empires commenced in 1873, when, the crew of a Riukiuan junk having been barbarously treated by the inhabitants of northern Formosa, Japan applied to China for redress, and, failing to obtain it, took the law into her own hands. Double offence was thus given to the Middle Kingdom, for its rulers held not only that their territory had been invaded when Japan's forces landed in Formosa, but also that her assumption of protective responsibilities with regard to the Riukiu Islands was a direct infringement of Chinese sovereignty, the inhabitants of Riukiu being Chinese subjects. The latter point, however, was not raised by the statesmen in Peking. They confined their remonstrances to the invasion of Formosa, and they finally agreed to recoup Japan's expenses provided that she withdrew her troops from that

island. Had Japan needed any confirmation of her title to the ownership of Riukiu, she might have derived it from this incident, since the Chinese Government, by agreeing to indemnify her outlays incurred in protecting Riukiuans, constructively admitted her right to protect them. But the fact is that Japan entertained no misgivings as to the validity of her title. The Riukiu Islands, having been conquered by Satsuma, had for centuries been regarded as an appanage of that fief, and the language and customs of their inhabitants showed unmistakable traces of Japanese affinities. Therefore in 1876 the Tōkyō Government did not hesitate to extend the newly organised administrative system to Riukiu, which thenceforth became "Okinawa Prefecture," the former ruler of the islands being pensioned after the manner of the other feudatories. China entered an objection. She claimed that Riukiu had always been a tributary of the Middle Kingdom, and she was doubtless perfectly sincere in the contention. But China's interpretation of tribute did not seem reducible to a working theory. So long as her own advantage could be promoted, she regarded as a token of vassalage the presents periodically carried to her Court from neighbouring States. So soon, however, as there arose any question of discharging a suzerain's duties, she classed those offerings as insignificant interchanges of neighbourly courtesy. It was true that Riukiu had followed

the custom of despatching gift-bearing envoys to China from time to time, just as Japan herself had done, though with less regularity. But it was also true that Riukiu had been subdued by Satsuma without China's stretching out a hand to help her; that for two centuries the islands had been included in the Satsuma fief, and that China had recently made a practical acknowledgment of Japan's superior title to protect the islanders. Each empire asserted its claims positively, but whereas Japan put hers into practice, China confined herself to remonstrances. Things remained in that state until 1880, when General Grant, visiting the East, suggested the advisability of a compromise. A conference met in Peking, and the plenipotentiaries agreed that the islands should be divided, Japan, taking the northern group, China the southern. But on the eve of signature the Chinese plenipotentiary drew back, pleading that he had no authority to conclude an agreement without previously referring it to certain other dignitaries. Japan, sensible that she had been flouted, withdrew from the discussion and retained the islands, China's share in them being reduced to a grievance.

This incident illustrated China's methods and their results. From time immemorial her policy towards the petty States on her frontiers had been to utilise them as buffers for softening the shock of foreign contact, while contriving, at the same time, that her relations with them should

involve no inconvenient responsibilities to herself. The aggressive impulses of the outside world were to be checked by an unproclaimed understanding that the territories of these States partook of the inviolability of the Middle Kingdom itself, while the States, on their side, must never expect their Suzerain to bear the consequences of their acts. This arrangement, depending largely on sentiment and prestige, retained its validity in the atmosphere of Oriental seclusion, but quickly failed to endure the test of modern Occidental practicality. Tonquin, Annam, Siam, and Burmah were withdrawn, one by one, from the circle of buffers, and from the fiction of dependence on China and independence towards all other countries. With regard to Korea, however, China proved more tenacious. The possession of the peninsula by a foreign Power would have threatened the maritime route to the Gulf of Pechili, and would have given easy access to Manchuria, the cradle of the dynasty now ruling China. Therefore the Peking statesmen endeavoured to preserve the old-time relations with the little kingdom. But they never could persuade themselves to modify the indirect methods sanctioned by tradition. Instead of boldly declaring the peninsula a dependency of the Middle Kingdom, they sought to keep up the romance of ultimate dependency and intermediate sovereignty. Thus, in 1877, Korea was suffered to conclude with Japan a treaty of which the

first article declared her "an independent State enjoying the same rights as Japan," and subsequently to make with the United States (1882), Great Britain (1883), and other Powers treaties in which her independence was constructively admitted. China, however, did not intend that Korea should exercise the independence thus conventionally recognised. A Chinese Resident was placed in Söul, and a system of steady though covert interference in Korea's domestic and foreign affairs was inaugurated.

Japan suffered chiefly by these anomalous conditions. In all her dealings with Korea, in all complications that arose out of her comparatively large trade with the peninsula, in all questions connected with her numerous settlers there, she found herself negotiating with a dependency of China, and with officials who took their orders from the Chinese Representative. China had long entertained a rooted apprehension of Japanese aggression in the peninsula — an apprehension not unwarranted by history — and that distrust tinged all the influence exerted by her agents there. Much space would be required to recapitulate the occasions upon which Japan was made sensible of the discrimination thus exercised against her. It is enough to say that such occasions were numerous, and that by degrees her indignation was roused. No single instance, indeed, constituted a ground for strong international protest, but the Japanese people gradu-

ally acquired a consciousness of being perpetually baffled, thwarted, and humiliated by China's interference in the peninsular kingdom's affairs.

To appreciate the bitterness of such conditions, it has to be remembered that for the previous thirty years China had treated Japan as a contemptible deserter from the Oriental standard, and had regarded her progressive efforts with openly disdainful aversion; while Japan, on her side, had chafed more and more to furnish some striking evidence of the wisdom of her preference for Western civilisation. In the breast of each nation there had been smouldering a sentiment of umbrage which could scarcely fail to be translated into hostile action sooner or later, unless either Japan reverted to conservatism or China became progressive.

Even more serious were the consequences of Chinese interference when considered from the point of view of Korean administration. The rulers of the little State lost all sense of national responsibility and gave unrestrained sway to selfish ambition. The functions of the judiciary and of the executive alike came to be discharged by bribery only. Family interests predominated over those of the State. Taxes were imposed in proportion to the greed of local officials. No thought whatever was taken for the welfare of the people or for the development of the country's resources. Among the upper classes faction struggles, among the lower, insurrections, began

to be more and more frequent. Personal responsibility was unknown among officials, family influence overshadowing everything. To be a member of the Bin family, to which the Queen belonged, was to possess a passport to office and an indemnity against the consequences of abuse of power, however flagrant. From time to time the advocates of progress or the victims of oppression rose in arms. They effected nothing except to recall to the world's recollection the miserable condition into which the peninsula had fallen. Chinese military aid was always furnished readily for the suppression of these *émeutes*, and thus the Bin family learned to base its tenure of power on ability to conciliate the Middle Kingdom and on readiness to obey Chinese dictation, while the people at large fell into the apathetic condition of men that possess neither the blessing of security of property nor the incentive of national ambition.

As a matter of State policy the Korean problem caused much anxiety to Japan. Her own security being deeply concerned in preserving Korea from the grasp of Western Powers, she could not suffer the little kingdom to drift into a condition of such administrative incompetence and national debility that a strong aggressor might find at any moment a pretext for interference. On two occasions, namely in 1882 and 1884, when China's armed intervention was employed in the interests of the Bin to suppress

movements of reform, the partisans of the victors, regarding Japan as the fountain of progressive tendencies, attacked and destroyed her legation in Söul and compelled its inmates to fly from the city. Japan behaved with forbearance at these crises, but in the consequent negotiations she acquired conventional titles that touched the core of China's alleged suzerainty. For in 1882 her right to maintain troops in Söul for the protection of her legation was admitted, and in 1885 she concluded with China a convention by which each Power pledged itself not to send troops to Korea without notifying the other, the two empires being thus placed on an equal military footing with regard to the peninsular kingdom.

In the spring of 1894 a serious insurrection broke out in Korea, and the insurgents proving themselves superior to the ill-disciplined, ill-equipped troops of the Government, the Bin family had recourse to its familiar expedient, appeal to China's aid. The appeal elicited a prompt response. On the 6th of July, 2,500 Chinese troops embarked at Tientsin, and were transported to the peninsula, where they went into camp at Ya-shan, on the southwest coast, notice of the measure being given by the Chinese Government to the Japanese Representative in Peking, according to treaty.

During the interval immediately preceding these events, Japan had been rendered acutely

sensible of China's arbitrary and unfriendly interference in the peninsula. Twice the efforts of the Japanese Government to obtain redress for unlawful and ruinous tradal prohibitions issued by the Korean Authorities, had been thwarted by the action of the Chinese Resident in Söul; and once an ultimatum addressed from Tōkyō to the Korean Government in the sequel of long and vexatious delay, had elicited from the Viceroy Li in Tientsin an insolent threat of Chinese armed opposition. Still more strikingly provocative of national indignation was China's procedure with regard to the murder of Kim Ok-kyün, the leader of progress in Korea, who had been for some years a refugee in Japan. Inveigled from Japan to China by fellow countrymen sent from Söul to assassinate him, Kim was shot in a Japanese hotel in Shanghai, and China, instead of punishing the murderer, conveyed him, together with the corpse of his victim, in a warship of her own to Korea, the assassin to be publicly honoured, the body to be savagely mutilated. When, therefore, the insurrection of 1894 in Korea induced the Bin family again to solicit China's armed intervention, the Tōkyō Government concluded that, in the interests of Japan's security and of civilisation in the Orient, steps must be taken to put an end finally to the barbarous corruption and misrule which rendered Korea a scene of constant disturbance, offered incessant invitations to foreign aggression,

and checked the country's capacity to maintain its own independence. Japan did not claim for herself any rights or interests in the peninsula superior to those possessed there by China. She was always ready to work hand in hand with the Middle Kingdom in inaugurating and carrying out a system of reform. But there was not the remotest probability that China, whose face had been contemptuously set against all the progressive measures adopted by Japan during the preceding twenty-five years, would join in forcing upon a neighbouring kingdom the very reforms she herself despised and abhorred, were her coöperation invited through ordinary diplomatic channels only. It was necessary to contrive a situation which would not only furnish clear proof of Japan's resolution, but also enable her to pursue her programme independently of China's endorsement, should the latter be finally unobtainable. She therefore met China's notice of a despatch of troops with a corresponding notice of her own, and the month of July, 1894, found a Chinese force assembled at Ya-shan and a Japanese force occupying positions in the neighbourhood of Söul. China's motive for sending troops was nominally to quell the Tonghak insurrection, but really to reaffirm her own domination in the peninsula and to reseat in the administrative saddle men under whose guidance the country was losing all capacity for independence. Japan's motive was to secure a position such as would

enable her to insist upon the radically curative treatment of Korea's malady.

Up to this point the two empires were strictly within their conventional rights. Each was entitled by treaty to send troops to the peninsula, provided that notice was given to the other. But China, in giving notice, described Korea as her "tributary State," thus thrusting into the forefront of the discussion a contention which Japan, from conciliatory motives, would have kept out of sight. Once formally advanced, however, the claim had to be challenged. In the treaty of amity and commerce concluded many years previously between Japan and Korea, the two high contracting parties were explicitly declared to possess the same national status. Japan could not agree that a Power which for two decades she had acknowledged and treated as her equal, should be openly classed as a tributary of the Middle Kingdom. She protested, but the Chinese statesmen took no notice of her protest. They continued to apply the disputed appellation to Korea, and they further asserted their assumption of sovereignty in the peninsula by seeking to set limits to the number of troops sent by Japan, as well as to the sphere of their employment. Japan then proposed that the two empires should unite their efforts for the suppression of the disturbances in Korea and for the subsequent improvement of that kingdom's administration, the latter purpose to be pursued by

the despatch of a joint commission of investigation. That was an important stage in the dispute. It rested then with China to avert all danger of war by joining hands with Japan for the regeneration of a nation in whose prosperity and independence the two empires were equally interested. But she refused everything. Ready at all times to interfere by force of arms between the Korean people and the dominant political faction, she declined to interfere in any way for the promotion of reform. Ready at all times to crush the little kingdom into submission to a corrupt and demoralising administration, she refused to aid in rescuing it from the suffering and enervation entailed by the sway of such an oligarchy. She even expressed superciliously insulting surprise that Japan, while asserting Korea's independence, should suggest the idea of peremptorily reforming its administration. In short, for Chinese purposes the Peking statesmen openly declared Korea a "tributary" of the Middle Kingdom, and denied Japan's assertion of its independence; but for Japanese purposes they insisted that it must be held independent, and that Japan must abide strictly by her assertion of its independence. The Tōkyō Cabinet now declared their resolve not to withdraw the Japanese troops without "some understanding that would guarantee the future peace, order, and good government of Korea," and since China still declined to come to such an under-

standing, Japan undertook the work of reform single-handed.

The Chinese Representative in Söul threw the whole weight of his influence into the scale against the success of these reforms. Still nothing immediately occurred to drive the two empires into open warfare. The finally determining cause of rupture was in itself a belligerent operation.

China's troops, as already stated, had been sent originally for the purpose of quelling the Tong-hak rebellion. But the rebellion having died of inanition before the landing of the troops, their services were not required or employed. Nevertheless they were not withdrawn. China kept them in the peninsula, her declared reason for doing so being the presence of a Japanese military force. Thus, throughout the subsequent negotiations, the Chinese forces lay in an entrenched camp at Ya-shan while the Japanese occupied Söul. The trend of events did not impart any character of direct mutual hostility to these little armies. But when it became evident that all hope of friendly co-operation between the two empires must be abandoned, and when Japan, single-handed, had embarked upon her scheme of regenerating Korea, not only did the continued presence of a Chinese military force in the peninsula assume special significance, but any attempt on China's part to send reinforcements could be construed in one sense only, namely, as an un-

equivocal declaration of resolve to oppose Japan's proceedings by force of arms. Seeing, then, that China was preparing to send reinforcements, Japan warned the Peking Government of the construction she must place upon any act of the kind. Nevertheless China not only despatched troops by sea to strengthen the camp at Ya-shan, but also sent an army overland across Korea's northern frontier. It was at this stage that an act of war occurred. Three Chinese men-of-war, convoying a transport with 1,200 men, encountered and fired on three Japanese cruisers. One of the Chinese ships was taken; another was so shattered that she had to be beached and abandoned; the third escaped in a dilapidated condition, and the transport, refusing to surrender, was sunk. This happened on July 25th, and an open declaration of war was made by each Empire six days later.

The narrative set down above represents the last chapter only of a history having its beginnings a quarter of a century earlier. From the moment that Japan applied herself to break away from Oriental traditions, and to snap from her limbs the fetters of Eastern conservatism, it was inevitable that a widening gulf should gradually grow between herself and China, the inveterate representative of those traditions and that conservatism. Thus the struggle that occurred in 1894 was rather a contest between Japanese progress and Chinese stagnation than a fight to determine

China's suzerainty or Korean independence. To secure Korea's immunity from foreign — especially Russian — aggression was of capital importance to both empires. Japan believed that such security could be attained by introducing into the peninsula the civilisation which had contributed so signally to the development of her own strength and resources. China thought that she could guarantee security without any departure from old-fashioned methods, and by the same processes of capricious protection which had failed so signally in the cases of Annam, Tonquin, Burmah, Siam, and Riukiu. The issue really at stake was whether Japan should be suffered to act as the Eastern propagandist of Western progress, or whether her efforts in that cause should be held in check by Chinese conservatism.

But from this synopsis of reasons it would be unjust to omit the state of Japan's domestic affairs in 1894. Unquestionably the friction between the Government and political parties had reached such an acute stage that even a foreign war might have been welcome as a diversion. Some publicists have attached overwhelming importance to that phase of the story. They insist that Japan forced war upon her neighbour in order to escape a worse alternative at home. Others deny strenuously that the rupture was influenced in any respect by Japan's domestic embarrassments. The truth, as usual, seems to lie between the two extremes. Japan would probably have been more

unwilling to break the peace if the state of her own household had been more tranquil.

The war itself was a succession of triumphs for Japan. Four days after the first naval encounter, she sent from Söul a column of troops who attacked the Chinese entrenched at Ya-shan and routed them without difficulty. Many of the fugitives effected their escape to Pyöng-yang, a town on the Tadong River, offering excellent facilities for defence, and historically interesting as the place where a Japanese army of invasion had been defeated by Chinese and Korean troops at the close of the sixteenth century. There the Chinese assembled a force of seventeen thousand men and made full preparations for a decisive contest. They had ample leisure. A period of forty days elapsed before the Japanese columns, one moving due north from Söul, the other striking west from Yuen-san, converged upon Pyöng-yang, and that interval was utilised by the Chinese to throw up parapets, mount Krupp guns, and otherwise strengthen their position. Moreover, they were armed with repeating rifles, whereas the Japanese had only single-shooters, and the ground offered little cover for an attacking force. Under such circumstances, the advantages possessed by the defence ought to have been wellnigh insuperable; yet a day's fighting sufficed to carry all the positions, the assailants' casualties amounting to less than seven hundred and the defenders losing six thousand in killed and

wounded. It was a brilliant victory, and it proved to be the prelude of another equally conspicuous success at sea.

For, on September 17th, the very day after the battle at Pyöng-yang, a great naval fight took place near the mouth of the Yalu River, which forms the northern boundary of Korea. Fourteen Chinese warships and six torpedo-boats were returning to home ports after convoying a fleet of transports to the Yalu, when they encountered eleven Japanese men-of-war cruising in the Yellow Sea. Hitherto the Chinese had sedulously avoided a contest at sea. Their fleet was the stronger, since it included two armoured line-of-battle ships of over seven thousand tons' displacement, whereas the most powerful vessels on the Japanese side were belted cruisers of only four thousand tons. In the hands of an admiral appreciating the value of sea power, China's naval force would certainly have been directed against Japan's maritime communications, since a successful blow struck there must have put an end to the Korean campaign. History had already demonstrated that fact, for on two occasions in former ages attempts made by Japan to conquer the peninsula were rendered abortive by the superior maritime strength of the Koreans and Chinese. On land her soldiers proved invincible, but her sea-route being severed, she had to abandon the enterprise in each case. The Chinese, however, failed to read history.

They employed their war-vessels as convoys only, and when not using them for that purpose, hid them in port. Everything goes to show that they would have avoided the battle off the Yalu had choice been possible, though when forced to fight, they fought bravely. Four of their ships were sunk, and the remainder escaped to Wei-hai-wei, the vigour of the Japanese pursuit being greatly impaired by the presence of torpedo-boats in the retreating squadron.

The Yalu victory opened the over-sea route to China. Japan could now strike at Talien, Port Arthur, and Wei-hai-wei, naval stations on the Liao-tung and Shantung peninsulas, where powerful permanent fortifications, built after plans prepared by European experts, were armed with the best modern weapons and enjoyed the reputation of being almost impregnable. They fell before the assaults of the Japanese troops as easily as the comparatively rude fortifications at Pyöng-yang had fallen. The only resistance of a stubborn character was made by the Chinese fleet at Wei-hai-wei; but after the whole squadron of torpedo-craft had been destroyed or captured as they attempted to escape, and three of the largest vessels had been sunk at their moorings by Japanese torpedoes, and one by shot and shell, the remaining four ships and five gunboats surrendered, and their brave commander, Admiral Ting, committed suicide.

This ended the war. It had lasted seven and a

half months, during which time Japan put into the field five columns, aggregating about 120,000 of all arms. One of these columns marched northward from Söul, won the battle of Pyöng-yang, advanced to the Yalu, forced its way into Manchuria, and moved towards Mukden *viâ* Feng-hwan, fighting several minor engagements and conducting the greater part of its operations amid deep snow in midwinter. The second column diverged westward from the Yalu, and marching through southern Manchuria, reached Haicheng, whence it advanced to the capture of Newchwang and Yingkow. The third landed on the Liao-tung Peninsula, and turning southward, carried Talien and Port Arthur by assault. The fourth moved up the Liao-tung Peninsula, and, having seized Kaiping, advanced against Yingkow, where it joined hands with the second column. The fifth crossed from Port Arthur to Wei-hai-wei and captured the latter. In all these operations the total Japanese casualties were 1,005 killed and 4,922 wounded, — figures which sufficiently indicate the inefficiency of the Chinese fighting. The deaths from disease aggregated 16,866, and the total monetary expenditure was twenty million pounds sterling.

The Chinese Government sent Li Hung-chang, Viceroy of Chili and Senior Grand Secretary of State, and Li Ching-fong, to discuss terms of peace with Japan, the latter being represented by Marquis Itō and Count Mutsu, Prime Minister and

Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, respectively. A treaty was signed at Shimonoseki on the 17th of April, and subsequently ratified by the sovereigns of the two empires. It declared the absolute independence of Korea: ceded to Japan the part of Manchuria lying south of a line drawn from the mouth of the river Anping to the mouth of the Liao, *viâ* Fenghwan, Haicheng, and Yingkow, as well as the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores; pledged China to pay an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels; provided for the occupation of Wei-hai-wei by Japan pending payment of the indemnity; secured some additional commercial privileges, as the opening of four new places to foreign trade and the right of foreigners to engage in manufacturing enterprises in China, and provided for the conclusion of a treaty of commerce and amity between the two empires, based on the lines of China's treaties with Occidental Powers.

No sooner did this agreement receive ratification at the hands of the sovereigns of Japan and China, than three of the Great European Powers — Russia, Germany, and France — stepped forward, and presented a joint note to the Tōkyō Government, recommending that the territories ceded to Japan on the mainland of China should not be permanently occupied, as such a proceeding would be detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient. The recommendation was couched in the usual terms of diplomatic courtesy, but every-

thing indicated that its signatories were prepared to enforce their advice by an appeal to arms. Japan found herself compelled to comply. Exhausted by the Chinese campaign, which had drained her treasury, consumed her supplies of warlike material, and kept her squadrons constantly at sea for eight months, she had no residue of strength to oppose such a coalition. Her resolve was quickly taken. The day that saw the publication of the ratified treaty saw also the issue of an Imperial rescript in which the Mikado, avowing his unalterable devotion to the cause of peace, and recognising that the counsel offered by the European States was prompted by the same sentiment, "yielded to the dictates of magnanimity and accepted the advice of the three Powers."

The Japanese were shocked by this incident. They could understand the motives influencing Russia and France; for it was evidently natural that the former should desire to exclude warlike and progressive people like the Japanese from territories contiguous to her borders, and it was also natural that France in the East should remain true to her alliance with Russia in the West. But Germany, not directly interested in the ownership of Manchuria, and by profession a warm friend of Japan, seemed to have joined in robbing the latter of the fruits of her victory simply for the sake of establishing some shadowy title to Russia's good-will. It was not known

until a later period that the Emperor of Germany entertained profound apprehensions about an irruption of Oriental hordes into the Occident, and held it a sacred duty to prevent Japan from gaining a position which might enable her to construct an immense military machine out of the countless millions of the Chinese nation. When His Majesty's mood came to be understood, much of the resentment provoked by his unfriendliness in the Manchurian affair was softened by the mirth his chimera excited.

One of the results of this war was to suggest to the Japanese a new estimate of the attributes that win respect for a nation in the eyes of Europe and America. They saw that their country's peaceful progress and her successful efforts to qualify for equal intercourse with Western States had attracted little consideration compared with the victories of her arms. Probably that discovery had much to do with a large scheme of military and naval expansion that they undertook in the sequel of the war, raising the army to a fighting strength of over half a million men and more than doubling the navy.

But the main reason for this great development of belligerent force was the action of Russia, Germany, and France in robbing Japan of the fruits of her victory, and expelling her from the position she had won in Manchuria by force of arms. The bitterness of that deprivation could not fail to be accentuated by a doubt

whether any one of the three Powers sincerely entertained the purpose they avowedly sought to promote, namely, the preservation of China's integrity. Nothing in their records indicated that the interests of an Oriental State had ever been an object of solicitude to them, and Japan had no choice but to conclude that the motive of their arbitrary interference was to prevent her own aggrandisement rather than to avert her enemy's dismemberment. To secure herself against a possible repetition of such humiliations, and to support the dignity of her newly won position as the leading Power in the Orient, she expanded her armaments. Many onlookers averred that alone among the civilised nations of the world she might have confided in the forbearance of other States and pursued the even tenor of her way, unarmed and uninsured. But she did not derive any such conviction either from her own experience or from her observation of international usages, and it must be admitted that her misgivings found curiously quick and signal justification in subsequent events.

For little more than three years after the three Powers' ostentatious parade of concern for China's integrity, Germany seized Kiao-chow and asserted her claim to a *hinterland* embracing the greater part of Shantung province.

This act of spoliation was effected by Germany without giving any sort of warning to China, although the relations between the two empires

were peaceful and amicable. The ostensible pretext, namely, that a Shantung mob had murdered two German missionaries, might have possessed some semblance of validity had Kiao-chow been occupied as security for satisfaction in the nature of an indemnity and the punishment of the murderers. Even in that case the routine observed by civilised nations is to prefer a claim first, so as to give the other side an opportunity of satisfying it peacefully before extreme measures are resorted to. But Germany helped herself to territory at once without preferring any claim, and retained the territory in permanence irrespective of China's willingness to fulfil all ordinary obligations of reparation. This record has nothing to do with the morality of Germany's policy. The impression produced upon the Japanese is alone in question, and that impression was that the sanctions and vetoes of international law constitute no sort of protection for an Oriental State against Occidental aggression.

In the immediate sequel of Germany's absorption of Shantung, Russia annexed the Liao-tung peninsula. The procedure in each case was euphemistically termed "leasing;" but no one, least of all Russia or Germany, laboured under any manner of delusion as to the true nature of the transaction.

Thus within four years of her expulsion from territories belonging to her by right of conquest, Japan saw those territories appropriated by the

YARA (OR GERO) OF SATSUMA (END OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY).

A Samurai supposed to be wholly careless of life.

very Powers that had expelled her. Solicitude for the preservation of China's integrity, which had formed their pretext for expelling Japan, was now shown to have been anxiety lest by leaving her in possession their own opportunities for aggrandisement might be curtailed.

But to have been openly flouted caused comparatively little concern to the Japanese. What chiefly troubled them was that by Russia's occupation of the Liao-tung peninsula a danger hitherto remote had become imminent. To a Power holding Vladivostock and Liao-tung the possession of Korea, or at any rate of a portion of its southern coast, is essential. For between Korea and Japan not only does the sea of Japan narrow to a breadth of one hundred and twenty miles, but also the Japanese island of Tsushima lies in the middle, and immediately opposite to Tsushima on the Korean coast is the Japanese settlement of Fusan. Japan, therefore, is competent to sever at any moment the maritime communications between Vladivostock and Liao-tung, unless Russia can secure in Korea such a position as will give her at least equal command of the narrows. But Russia in Korea is an intolerable prospect to the Japanese nation. They cannot consent to see planted, almost within sight of their shores, the outposts of an empire enormously powerful and governed by an irresistible impulse of expansion. They know well that Russia's growth is not controlled from St. Petersburg, but is perpetu-

ally promoted by "the man at the front," and that Korea would not be the terminus of her advance to-day any more than Geok Tepe was twenty years ago. Besides, their material interests in Korea are incomparably larger than those of Russia; the peninsula promises to be a prosperous settlement for their surplus population; they fought in 1894 to secure its independence, and history shows that if any Power has a title to shape its fate, that Power is Japan. It is easy to comprehend, therefore, how profound was the uneasiness felt by the Tōkyō statesmen when they saw Russia seated in Liao-tung, and how greatly their conviction was strengthened that among the Powers of Europe England alone had a sincere disposition to refrain from territorial aggression in the Far East. When these events occurred, Japan occupied Wei-hai-wei, which lies on the Shantung coast opposite to Liao-tung, and is one of the finest sites in China for a naval station. It was there that the Chinese troops and ships had made their last stand in the war of 1894–1895, and the subsequently concluded treaty of peace contained a provision that the place should remain in Japanese possession pending China's payment of an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels. The last instalment of the indemnity having been handed over shortly after Russia's appropriation of Liao-tung, the world looked to see Japan convert her provisional occupation of Wei-hai-wei into permanent tenure by way of rejoinder to Russia's action.

But Japan preferred to have England planted at Wei-hai-wei. She evacuated the place in Great Britain's favour, thus giving a further and unequivocal indication of her political tendency.

Meanwhile the Chinese Court, seeing its territories filched from it piece by piece, and recognising that a chief source of danger lay in the apathy of its own subjects, took steps to promote the organisation of volunteer associations in the provinces adjacent to the capital. It does not belong to the scope of this history to describe the processes by which a movement, possibly legitimate in official inception, assumed, in the summer of 1900, the character of an anti-foreign rebellion, which, breaking out in Shantung, spread to the metropolitan province of Chili, and resulted in a situation of extreme peril for the foreign communities in Tientsin and Peking. There did not indeed appear to be any possibility of despatching a European or American force with sufficient promptitude to save the legations in Peking, which were beleaguered by a crowd of Chinese soldiers and insurgents enormously more numerous than the little band of defenders. Hence the eyes of the world turned towards Japan, whose proximity to the scene of disturbance enabled her to intervene expeditiously, and whose troops were believed to be qualified for such a task.

But Japan hesitated. Knowing now with what suspicion and distrust the development of

her resources and the growth of her military strength were regarded by some European peoples, and aware that she had been admitted to the comity of Western nations on sufferance, she shrank, on the one hand, from seeming to grasp at an opportunity for armed display, and, on the other, from the solecism of obtrusiveness in the society of strangers. Not until Europe and America made it quite plain that they needed and desired her aid did she send twenty thousand men to Chili, where they acted a fine part, first in the storming of Tientsin, and subsequently in the relief of Peking, which had to be approached in the fierce heat of a Chinese midsummer under most trying conditions. Fighting side by side with European and American soldiers and under the eyes of competent military critics, the Japanese acquitted themselves in such a manner as to establish a high military reputation. Their success in the war of 1894–1895 had been largely discounted by foreign critics, who attributed it, not to the prowess of the victors, but to the total helplessness of the vanquished, and who denied that any inference might be drawn as to the quality of Japanese fighting material for the purposes of a struggle with Western troops.[1] But the Campaign of 1900 in Chili furnished an unequivocal test. There could no longer be any doubt about her military capacity, and since also in the subsequent negotiations she uniformly ef-

[1] See Appendix, note 10.

faced herself, subordinating her own interests to the important object of maintaining the coöperative union of Western Powers, much of the suspicion with which she had been regarded in Europe ought to have been dispelled.

Much of it was dispelled, doubtless, but not all. Racial prejudice has not been softened by the touch of time. It is customary with a great many Europeans, especially those residing in Japan, to accuse the Japanese of harbouring anti-foreign sentiments and to upbraid them with not having fully laid aside their traditional dislike of aliens. But, if plain truth be told, the anti-Japanese prejudice displayed by the foreign communities themselves is incomparably more profound and demonstrative than any anti-foreign prejudice that can be detected among the Japanese. Nothing Japanese meets with approval among foreigners residing in the settlements. The general attitude — there are exceptions of course — is one of contemptuous tolerance or frank antipathy. Something of this is an aftermath of the resident foreigner's long struggle to retain the privilege of being judged by his own law courts and exempted from taxation. But racial prejudice is in the main responsible. The Japanese is counted an inferior being, and his persistent attempts to reverse that verdict provoke resentment rather than approval, while any display of impatient self-assertion on his part is attributed to inbred hatred of Occidentals. Himself maintaining an

attitude of ineffable superiority, the foreigner roundly accuses the Japanese people of conceit, and living carefully apart from them, charges them with exclusiveness and unsociability. It is not conceivable that any community of aliens living in an Occidental country under similar circumstances would find the people equally tolerant and good-humoured.

There is, of course, another side to the account. There is the open-handed benevolence with which the foreign resident responds to every appeal for aid when calamity overtakes the Japanese; there is the noble devotion of the missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, who labour perpetually for the welfare of their Japanese brothers and sisters, and there is the generous appreciation of onlookers from a distance who see Japan's progress in its true proportions. Such object-lessons do much to mitigate the harsher mood habitually displayed by the foreigner within the gates. But the balance is largely on the side of disdainful superiority, benevolent condescension, or unkind criticism, and the Japanese, gradually learning to see these things as they really are, have come to understand that many of the qualities which they are denounced for not displaying find no place in the conduct of their denouncers. Additional light has been reflected on the subject by the anti-Semitic sentiment in Europe, and by the legislation of Australia and America for excluding

immigrants of Japanese or Chinese nationality. It was against similar exclusiveness on Japan's part that the Powers of the West inveighed when they required her to open her gates, and the contrast between their preaching then and their practice subsequently cannot but strike Eastern nations.

The Chinese complication in 1900 was suggestive in another respect also. During the war in 1894–1895, a section of the Japanese army, invading the Liao-tung peninsula, committed some cruel excesses at Port Arthur. There were extenuating circumstances. The men had been exasperated beyond endurance by finding the bones of two of their comrades who had been roasted to death by the Chinese, and the remnants of others who had been shockingly mutilated, and, moreover, the civilian inhabitants of Port Arthur whom the Japanese slew were believed to be soldiers in disguise. Foreign critics, however, refused to take these circumstances into account. A veritable shout of indignation was raised; newspapers wrote as though the Japanese, permanently forfeiting their title to be called civilised, had re-established their affinity with Oriental barbarians; this one incident of a war conducted on all other occasions with marked humanity and unvarying respect for the best principles of international morality, was magnified into a heinous act of savagery, and altogether it seemed as though Europe and America were

shocked into hysterical horror. Now, if the Japanese had killed all the wounded Chinese, given no quarter under any circumstances, and sought to exterminate their enemies instead of subduing them, they would only have followed the usages of war, as it was known to them by tradition. But, on the contrary, they treated the wounded with the utmost kindness, refrained studiously from all acts of rapine, and with the one exception of Port Arthur were nowhere guilty of sacrificing life needlessly. Remembering, then, how short a time had elapsed since the sacking of cities was deemed a legitimate perquisite of European armies, and how only fourteen years separated Port Arthur from Geok Tepe, the Japanese, though they made no complaint, were probably a little bewildered by this experience. At all events, they concluded that under no provocation would Western soldiers be betrayed into retaliating on a merciless enemy. But one of the earliest incidents of the Chinese complication in 1900 was a shocking massacre at Blagovestchensk by the Russians, an act of savagery which threw Port Arthur totally into the shade; and in Chili the Japanese themselves saw not only the Cossacks, but also the Germans, follow the principle of "no quarter" with terrible fidelity. The world, however, said very little. It had been thrown into a tumult of palpitating horror when Japanese soldiers, remembering their tortured and mutilated comrades, forgot for a

moment to show mercy to a savage enemy; but when the troops of great Occidental States deliberately reverted to mediæval fashions of warfare, a feeble remonstrance, followed by discreet silence, was the measure of public condemnation. There could be no mistaking the import of this contrast: "one law for me, another for thee" was to be the governing principle of the Occident's attitude towards Japan.

The climax of the drama was reached when Russia planted her foot in Manchuria, and when Germany pretended that an agreement made by her with England concerning the integrity of the Chinese Empire could not be construed as applying to Manchuria, though Manchuria is as integral a portion of the Chinese Empire as Prussia is of the German. Japan was able to congratulate herself on having been mainly instrumental in preventing a convention by which China, helpless and blind-eyed, would have virtually added that huge territory to Russia. But although Russia failed to obtain documentary sanction for her occupation, she remained in occupation none the less, and no one, least of all a person conversant with her historical respect for engagements, could be so sanguine as to suppose that her disavowal of permanent occupation would ever be translated into evacuation. Thus, whereas the tenure of a portion of Manchuria by Japan had seemed to Russia, Germany, and France in 1895 such a menace to the security of China and

to the peace of the East, that they saw themselves under the painful duty of expelling Japan, the appropriation of the whole of Manchuria by Russia in 1900 did not seem to Germany to affect the integrity of China in any way, to menace her security, or to jeopardise the tranquillity of the Orient; seemed to France an arrangement that she could conscientiously support; and seemed to Russia an act not at all inconsistent with her previous attitude towards Japan.

Russia has thus extended her dominion to the very boundaries of Korea. She need only step across the Yalu River and she will find herself in a country inviting aggression by helplessness, promising to repay it by ample resources, and strategically essential to the security of her position in the Far East. She has conventions with Japan which, if faithfully observed, would prevent her from exercising in Korea any influence baleful to Japanese interests. Similarly at one time she had a convention with Great Britain placing Afghanistan entirely outside the sphere of Russian influence. Yet, in a time of peace, she deliberately instigated Afghanistan to make war upon England. Korea has now become the Afghanistan of the Far East, with this difference that whereas Afghanistan suggests itself to Russia merely as a weapon for harassing England in Asia in order to force her hand in Europe, Korea presents itself to her as a possession which would round off her newly acquired empire in the Far

East, secure the sea route between Vladivostock and Liao-tung, and consummate her long-cherished ambition by giving her full access to southern oceans. If in the past her aggressive progress had shown any symptom of finality, or if Japan's vital interests and hereditary inclination suffered her to abandon Korea to its fate, the situation now created would be less perilous.

Another important result of the Chinese complication has been to bring Japan, the United States of America, and England into very close relations. Japan has always regarded the United States with exceptionally friendly eyes. In every instance she has found America considerate, sympathetic, and appreciative, and she cherishes a firm conviction, which even the absorption of Hawaii and the Philippines has not shaken, that territorial aggression will never disfigure American policy in the Orient. Towards England her feelings used not to be so cordial. She doubted at one time whether Great Britain's growth might not yet be attended by catastrophes to Far-Eastern nations. But being now fully persuaded that the unique aim of British policy in China is to keep the markets of that Empire open on equal terms to all the world, and to avert its partition among States which discriminate commercially against other nations, she sees in England a Power with which she would willingly clasp hands in any common emergency.

It may be added that Japan has not lost all

hope of China's resurrection from the grave of conservative stagnation. Ever since the war of 1894–1895, the Viceroys of central China, Chang Chih-tung and Liu Kun-yi, have been sending youths to Japan to study military and naval sciences, law, medicine, commerce and industry,[1] and during the complications of 1900–1901 the Government in Tōkyō, acting through these viceroys, was able to exercise wholesome influence on the counsels of the Chinese Court. There is also a powerfully supported Japanese society under whose auspices schools have been opened at several places in China, and useful books are translated into the Chinese language and widely circulated. If events do not move too fast, China may possibly develop strength to cope with them, or at least to make some contribution to her own preservation.

[1] See Appendix, note 11.

Chapter III

STEPS OF PROGRESS

ONE of the most important reforms effected by the *Meiji* Government was in the field of education. The former rulers of Japan paid comparatively little attention to this matter, and never seem to have considered that any duty devolved on them to provide for the instruction of any section of the people except the *samurai*. But the statesmen of the Restoration saw that the nation could not be left to equip itself with machinery for studying the arts and sciences of the new civilisation, and saw further that if there was to be any radical progress the people must be compelled to extend their knowledge beyond the Chinese classics. Thus, without loss of time, an extensive system of schools was organised, and education was declared to be compulsory. Every child on attaining the age of six must now attend a Common Elementary School, where during a four years' course instruction is given in morals, reading, writing, arithmetic, the rudiments of technical work, gymnastics, and poetry. Year by year the attendance at these schools increases. In 1898,

the latest year for which statistics are published, 4,062,418 children received education out of a total of 7,125,966, the percentage of school-goers being 68.91. The desire for instruction is keener among boys than among girls: of the former, 82.42 per cent attend school, and of the latter only 53.73.

There are 26,322 public Common Elementary Schools, and the total annual cost of maintaining them is £1,715,469. Hence the average yearly expense of each school is £65; the average number of students 154, and the average annual cost per child 8*s.* 6*d.*, to which the child's parents contribute 1*s.* 9*d.* yearly, or 1¾*d.* per month. These Elementary Schools form part of the communal system, and such portion of their expenses as is not covered by tuition fees, income from school property, and miscellaneous sources, must be defrayed out of the proceeds of local taxation. The tax-payers' burden on this account is £1,150,446, and it thus appears that the four years' course of elementary education given to a Japanese child costs the tax-payer 22*s.* 6*d.*, and costs the child's parents 7*s.* The expense to parents will be still less in future, for by an Ordinance issued in August, 1900, it was enacted that whereas the payment of tuition fees had hitherto been the rule, and exemption from payment the exception, hereafter exemption should be the rule and payment the exception. In short, elementary education will be virtually free.

There are, also, 174 public Kindergartens, with an attendance of 15,000 infants, whose parents pay 3*d.* per month for each child, on the average. In general the Kindergartens are connected with Elementary Schools or with Normal Schools.

Many (4,735) of the Common Elementary Schools have a section where, subsequently to the completion of the regular curriculum, a special supplementary course of study may be pursued in agriculture, commerce, or industry (sewing in the case of girls). For the same purpose there exist also 318 Higher Elementary Schools, to which a child can gain admittance after passing out of a Common Elementary School. The time devoted to these special courses is two, three, or four years, according to the degree of proficiency contemplated, and the cost to the parents is 6*d.* per month.

If a child, after graduating at a Common Elementary School, desires to extend its education, it passes into a Common Middle School, where training is given for practical pursuits, or for admission to higher educational institutions. The ordinary curriculum at a Common Middle School includes moral philosophy, English language, history, geography, mathematics, natural history, natural philosophy, chemistry, drawing, and the Japanese language. Five years are required to graduate, and from the fourth year the student may take up a special technical course as well as the main course; or, in accordance with local re-

quirements, technical subjects may be taught conjointly with the regular curriculum throughout the whole time. The law provides that there must be at least one Common Middle School in each Prefecture. The actual number is 169, with 2,061 teachers and 49,684 students, being an average of 244 students to each school, and 1 teacher to 24 students. The total annual cost of maintenance is £207,166. Thus each school requires an average outlay of £1,226, of which sum the tax-payers defray £720. A student in a Common Middle School costs the State £2 19*s.* yearly, and his five years' course represents a local tax of £14 15*s.* It will be seen, therefore, that when a child has completed its four years in a Common Elementary School and five years in a Common Middle School, its education has cost the public £15 17*s.* 6*d.*

Great inducements offer to attend a Common Middle School. Not only does the graduation certificate carry considerable weight as a general qualification, but it also entitles a young man to volunteer for one year's service with the colours, thus escaping two of the three years he would have to serve as an ordinary recruit.

The graduate of a Common Middle School can claim admittance, without examination, to a High School, where he spends three years preparing to pass to a University, or four years studying a special subject, as law, engineering, or medicine. By following the course in a High School, a youth

obtains exemption from conscription until the age of twenty-eight, when one year as a volunteer frees him from all service with the colours. There are six High Schools with a total attendance of 4,664 students, and the instructors number 351, or 1 to every 13 students. A High-School certificate of graduation entitles its holder to enter a University without examination, and qualifies him for all public posts.

In addition to the schools already enumerated, which may be said to constitute the machinery of general education, there are Special Schools (6) and Technical Schools (74), where instruction is given in agriculture, commerce, mechanics, applied chemistry, navigation, electrical engineering, aquatic productions, art (pictorial and applied), veterinary science, sericulture, and various branches of industry. There are also 17 apprentices' schools, classed under the heading of "elementary," where courses of not less than six months and not more than four years may be taken in dyeing and weaving, embroidery, the making of artificial flowers, tobacco manufacture, sericulture, reeling silk, pottery, lacquer, wood work, metal work, or brewing. On the average, each of these schools has 67 students and 6 teachers, and costs £520 annually, or £7 15*s.* per student. The tax-payers contribute £355 yearly towards the support of each school, and the expense to the student is about 2*s.* 6*d.* per month.

Normal Schools are maintained for the pur-

pose of training teachers. There are two High Normal Schools, — one for males, the other for females, — the former having 555 pupils, the latter 171 ; and there are 47 common Normal Schools, with 7,302 male students and 879 females. Great difficulty is experienced in obtaining a full complement of teachers for elementary public schools. The total number required is ninety-five thousand, approximately, and the number actually available is only sixty-four thousand. That is mainly due to the very small emoluments given for such service. Out of sixty-four thousand teachers now employed in elementary schools, only fifty get as much as £48 a year ; eleven thousand have less than £10 annually, and the salaries of forty-nine thousand range from £11 to £24. Considering that a common labourer now earns £18 a year, the insufficiency of teachers' emoluments is apparent.

There are two Imperial Universities, one in Tōkyō and one in Kyōtō. The latter is not yet fully organised. The former has 205 professors and instructors and 2,463 students. Its colleges number six, — law, medicine, engineering, literature, science, and agriculture, — it has a University Hall where postgraduate courses are studied, and it publishes a quarterly journal giving accounts of scientific researches which indicate not only large erudition but also original talent.

All the figures given above are independent of private educational institutions. Of these there

are 1,600, employing 5,346 teachers and having 149,230 pupils. The tendency of the system pursued by the State is to discourage private education, for unless a private school brings its curriculum into accord with that prescribed for public institutions, its students are denied the valuable privilege of exemption from conscription, as well as the other advantages attaching to State recognition. Further, the disposition to present large sums for educational purposes has not yet become widely effective among private individuals in Japan. Voluntary contributions in aid of public schools aggregate about £90,000 annually, but the efforts made by the people on this account are still comparatively insignificant.

At first, when the above system was introduced, students showed a dangerous inclination to neglect hygienic considerations altogether, and abandon themselves wholly to the task of acquiring the new knowledge rapidly. It seemed as though the rising generation was destined to lose its physical stamina altogether, and to take for permanent companions consumption, impaired vision, and stunted stature. Many gifted youths perished on the threshold of promising careers, and others barely survived as invalids. Happily foreign teachers assisted to correct this fatal tendency by example or advice, and the Government, appreciating the danger, took steps to encourage gymnastics and athletics of every kind. Marked improvement resulted. It cannot yet be said

that the Japanese youth shows anything like the absorbing avidity of the Anglo-Saxon for out-door games and sports, but he takes keenly to base-ball, rowing, bicycling, and lawn tennis, and he begins to think of developing thews as a business only second to that of acquiring knowledge. If there is excessive application to study, it is on the part of girls, for they are spurred by a hope that the possession of knowledge will raise them from the position of inferiority to which the strong sex has condemned them. Yet even girls are now adopting the habit of walking to and from school, where also they are encouraged to frequent the playground and the gymnasium. Public opinion is still too tyrannical, however, to tolerate cycling by women. A very few courageous ladies run the gantlet of adverse criticism from their friends and of insulting epithets from boors in the streets; but the general feeling of the gentle, self-effacing Japanese woman is that she must bow to all prejudices which affect her pleasures alone.

The rapid growth of journalism is another fact that forces itself on the attention of every one observing Japan's modern career. In describing the life of the cities during Tokugawa times, it has been shown that the people were not altogether strange to the uses of the newspaper. As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, a sheet called the "reading for sale" (*yomiuri*) was hawked about the streets of Yedo by a vendor who cried his wares in the familiar European style

of later times. This embryo journal was in manuscript. It contained accounts of natural calamities, conflagrations, fights, vendettas, and other striking events. Another more aristocratic sheet, called the "official intelligence" (*go-sata-gaki*), was compiled by the chief of the tea-cult in the *Shōgun's* palace and sold privately. Its contents were taken chiefly from the archives of the Government Secretariat, and consisted of appointments and dismissals of officials, copies of administrative ordinances, and notes on current events. Neither of these publications attained permanent vogue or suggested any expansion of the enterprise. Not until 1863 did a real newspaper make its appearance. Its publisher, Fukuda Meiga, was inspired by the hope that if fuller knowledge of foreign countries were disseminated among the people, the policy of national exclusion might become distasteful. He therefore made translations of the *Batavia News*, and published them in the form of a journal printed from wood-blocks. The following year (1864) Joseph Hiko — a Japanese who had just returned from the United States, where he had lived since boyhood, having been rescued from a sinking junk and carried to San Francisco by an American ship — combined with two of his countrymen to publish a periodical which they called *shimbunshi* (newspaper), a term destined to become permanent in the language. As yet, movable types were not employed. But that innovation followed quickly

on the establishment of English journals for the foreign community in Yokohama, and during the stirring times at the fall of feudalism the demand for news became so keen that one journal after another made its appearance. At first the tone of these sheets reflected the anti-foreign, anti-progressive spirit of the conservative section of the nation, and their influence seemed so pernicious that the Government prohibited their publication and treated the editors as malefactors. But the incongruity of such a policy being quickly perceived, the veto was revoked in 1869, and journalistic enterprise received official sanction within certain limitations. All discussion of religious questions, of politics, and of legal problems was interdicted; a general injunction forbade the publication of matter prejudicial to public peace or good morals; official permission had to be obtained before issuing a journal, and the power of fining or imprisoning editors, publishers, and printers, as well as that of suspending or suppressing a newspaper was vested in administrative officials without any recourse to courts of law. It might have been foreseen that the young journalists of Japan, whose ideas of press liberty were derived from European theories, would not readily submit to these restrictions. A bitter struggle commenced between, on the one hand, irresponsible editors who were influenced partly by honest faith in the value of free speech, but mainly by a desire to embarrass the Government, and, on the

other, responsible officials who either believed that society was not yet ripe for the full enfranchisement of newspapers, or were unwilling to place in the hands of their political opponent weapons which threatened to prove inconveniently effective against themselves. The public, of course, took the part of the editors, and each sentence of imprisonment or fine pronounced against them brought a fresh access of popular sympathy. If there was occasional abuse of power on one side, there certainly were frequent abuses of privilege on the other. Devices, often unscrupulous and sometimes ingenious, were employed by the editors to gain popularity or to bring the Government into ridicule. On one occasion they organised imposing funeral rites in honour of journals that had been suppressed by Ministerial order. The defunct sheets, placed in a coffin, were borne in solemn procession to the temple of the Goddess of Mercy, where Buddhist priests chanted litanies for the dead, journalists and political agitators read threnodies or burned incense, and all the pomp, parade, and ceremony proper to aristocratic obsequies were observed. The story of this struggle for liberty reads strangely in the context of such a history as that of Japan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, when the Government made its autocratic power felt in every sphere of daily life, and the people never thought of resisting any order, however arbitrary, whether it related to the nature of their food or

the fashion of their garments. In the *Meiji* era, on the other hand, although scarcely a month passed that did not see an editor fined or imprisoned, a newspaper suspended or suppressed, the representatives of the press grew constantly more defiant, the demand for journals more urgent. The first daily paper, the *Mainichi Shimbun* (daily news), was published in 1871, and in 1879, despite the severity of the law, there were one hundred and ninety-two journals and periodicals with a total annual circulation of over eleven millions.

No sooner did the Diet commence its sittings in 1891 than a bill was introduced for removing all restrictions upon freedom of speech. Already (1887) the Government had voluntarily made a great step in advance by divesting itself of the right to imprison or fine editors by executive order. But it reserved the power of suppressing or suspending a newspaper, and against that reservation a majority of the Lower House voted, session after session, only to see the bill rejected by the Peers, who shared the Government's opinion that to grant a larger measure of liberty would certainly encourage licence. Not until 1897 was this opposition overcome. A new law, passed by both Houses and confirmed by the Emperor, took from the executive all power over journals, except in cases of lese-majesty, and nothing now remains of the former arbitrary system. The result has falsified all sinister forebodings. A much more moderate tone pervades the writings of the press

since restrictions were entirely removed, and although there are now 829 journals and periodicals published throughout the Empire with a total annual circulation of 463,000,000 copies, intemperance such as in former times would have provoked official interference, is seldom displayed to-day.

The quality of journalistic writing in Japan is marred by extreme and pedantic classicism. There has not yet been any real escape from the trammels of a tradition which assigned the crown of scholarship to whatever author drew most largely upon the resources of the Chinese language. A pernicious example in this respect is set by the Imperial Court. The sovereign, whether he speaks by rescript or by edict, never addresses the bulk of his subjects. His words are taken from sources so classical as to be intelligible only to the highly educated minority. Several of the newspapers affect a similar style. They sacrifice their audience to their erudition, and prefer classicism to circulation. Their columns are a sealed book to the whole of the lower middle classes and to the entire female population. Under any circumstances Japan labours under the terrible disadvantage of having a written language much more difficult to understand than her spoken language, and these journals seem bent upon making her misfortune as painful as possible. Others, taking a more rational view of the purposes of journalism, aim with success at simplicity and

intelligibility, and thus not only reach an extended circle of readers, but also are hastening incidentally the advent of great reform, the assimilation of the written and spoken languages, which will probably prelude that still greater desideratum, abolition of the ideographic script. Apart from this pedantic defect, the best Japanese editors have caught, with remarkable aptitude, the spirit of modern journalism. Twenty-five years ago, they used to compile laborious essays, the construction involved, the ideas trivial, the inspiration drawn from Occidental text-books, and the alien character of the source hidden under a veneer of Chinese aphorisms. To-day, they write terse, succinct, closely reasoned articles, seldom diffuse, often witty, and generally free from extravagance of thought or diction. Yet, with few exceptions, the profession of journalism is not remunerative. Very low rates of subscription and almost prohibitorily high charges for advertising are chiefly to blame.[1] The vicissitudes of the enterprise may be gathered from the facts that whereas 2,767 journals and periodicals were newly started between 1889 and 1894 (inclusive), no less than 2,465 ceased publishing. The largest circulation at present recorded is about thirty thousand copies daily.

The flagrant blemish of Japanese journalism is recklessness in attacking private reputations. No one is safe, not even a lady. Villanous and

[1] See Appendix, note 12.

wholly baseless stories are circulated without any attempt to investigate their truth, and sometimes with full knowledge of their falsehood. There are journals which actually boast of opening their columns for the publication of any tale anonymously contributed. They recognise no responsibility except that of providing entertainment for their readers. Sometimes the unique object is blackmail; sometimes the market for gossip is alone considered. And a strange fact is that the victims of these slanders suffer in unremonstrating silence. Newspaper editors are neither flogged nor cited before law courts. This patience is largely attributable to a conviction that contemptuous indifference is the most becoming demeanour in the presence of such unscrupulousness. But the law is also to blame. It provides no effective remedy. Recourse to a tribunal of justice means that the defendant must be hunted from court to court, and that after perhaps a year or eighteen months of weary proceedings, he escapes at last with a nominal penalty. Stranger still is the blindness of journalists — of course there are several honourable exceptions — who fail to see that by taking continual advantage of the tolerance of contempt, they are doing their best to become really contemptible. Already the press occupies a very low place in the estimation of educated Japanese. They recognise its political capabilities, but regard journalism on the whole as a low calling. Public opinion does not help: its restraints

are practically inoperative in Japan. People uncomplainingly endure many things besides journalistic abuses. They endure vexatious slowness in the transaction of administrative affairs; they have no effective perception that public servants, being paid by the public, should really be servants of the public; they utter not a word of protest against abuses which in Europe or America would arouse a storm of indignant denunciation. Never was there a nation whose customs illustrate more forcibly the old saying that what is everybody's business is nobody's business. It would seem at first sight that this habit of mind may be the result of traditional submissiveness to authority. But that explanation is not sufficient. Men who in local assemblies, in the Diet, in the columns of the press and on the platform, show little respect for officialdom, would not be likely to adopt an entirely subservient mien on other occasions. Besides, displays of long-suffering are not confined to the people's attitude towards those in power. The mood may be observed in all the affairs of daily life. Nuisances of every description, obtrusive, noisy, or noisome, are endured without open protest. The fact is that courtesy and philosophy combine to dictate a show of indifference. A Japanese finds it abhorrently rude to take querulous notice of a neighbour's habits or idiosyncrasies, whatever discomfort or inconvenience they may cause himself, and no character seems to him less respectable than that of a fussy, sensi-

tive person. Men guided by such rules of conduct do not make vehement exponents of public opinion, however agreeable they may be as units of society.

As to the Japanese official, different opinions have been expressed. According to some, the occupants of high positions are polite and obliging, whereas the juniors are veritable Jacks in office, always ready to abuse the little brief authority with which they are clothed; according to others, they are one and all thoroughly courteous and serviceable. Probably a subjective element is mingled with both views. The Japanese official's demeanour depends on the manner in which he is approached. His natural tendency is to be urbane and helpful, but he resents the *de-haut-en-bas* style of address adopted towards him by many foreigners, and is a little annoyed by criticisms generally founded on ignorance. Certainly in no other part of the world is it possible to find police-constables who treat the public with more uniform civility, and the conduct of the policeman is probably the least fallible criterion. Yet at times these same policemen have been guilty of cruel roughness in apprehending foreign disturbers of the peace, and there has followed the usually exaggerated outcry on the part of local foreign journalists whose sense of proportion is much marred by their spurious patriotism. What may be fairly stated in extenuation of any violence occasionally resorted to by the police is that they

have to deal with very difficult conditions at the open ports. The big, muscular, foreign sailor, primed with liquor and craving for a fight, disdains the notion of having Oriental hands laid on him, and finds it intolerable to be haled to prison by a diminutive Japanese. He resists so efficiently that some of the native constables have become persuaded of the necessity of clubbing him at the first symptom of opposition. Such cases, however, are exceptional. As for the average foreigner, it may be truly said that beyond the limits of the treaty ports, beyond the districts where his own masterful way has given umbrage or his own misunderstood familiarity bred contempt, he finds everywhere civility and a sunny welcome. If association with him has not improved the manners of the Japanese towards him, the responsibility must be at least divided. On the whole, however, there is no country where a stranger can be more certain of freedom from unpleasant molestation of every kind than in Japan.

Japanese officials are divided into four grades: the first comprising those that receive their commissions direct from the Emperor and are entitled to report personally to him; the second, those that receive their commissions through the Minister of a Department and have the *entrée* to the Palace on State occasions; the third, those commissioned similarly to the second, but not having the *entrée* to the Palace; and the fourth, those temporarily engaged and having the status of mere

employés. There is also another classification into nine ranks, each having two classes. The place occupied by an official in this list is granted by the Emperor as a recognition of merit, and the designation is prefixed to the name, like a title, in official documents. Thus *Sho-ni-i Koshaku Itō*, "First-grade Second Rank Marquis Itō;" or *Jusammi Danshaku Iwakura*, "Second-grade Third Rank Baron Iwakura." Admission to officialdom is by examination, except in the case of candidates possessing certain duly attested educational qualifications.

The following table shows the number of officials belonging to the Central Government and their respective emoluments: —

Officials.	Total Number.	Total yearly Emoluments.	Average yearly Emoluments. Yen.	
First-class . . .	259	1,010,540	3,962	(£397)
Second-class . .	4,269	4,296,208	1,006	(£101)
Third-class . . .	38,082	9,094,462	238	(£24)
Fourth-class . .	26,266	4,186,500	159	(£16)
Totals . . .	68,876	18,587,710	269	(£27)

There has been of late years a steady tendency towards increase in the number of Central-Government officials. In 1893, the total was only 45,508, against 68,876 at present, and the emoluments aggregated 10,745,348 *yen*, whereas they now aggregate 18,587,710 *yen*. Undoubtedly the establishment is too large. In several of the State Departments the officials are so numerous that they serve merely to impede each other.

Such a state of affairs in the early years of the *Meiji* era was partially extenuated by the fact that the Government had to find employment for many impecunious *samurai*, victims of vicissitudes for which they were not themselves responsible. But that excuse has lost all validity and yet the abuse continues. The party politicians inveighed strongly against it during the epoch when every stick served them to beat the "clan" dog. But when they themselves arrived within reach of administrative power, their conception of its perquisites proved to be still more elastic than that of their predecessors.

For purposes of local administration the whole Empire (with the exception of Hokkaido, which has a special form of government) is divided into 47 prefectures (*ken*), 653 counties (*gun*), 48 towns (*shi*), and 14,734 districts (*cho* or *son*). The three metropolitan prefectures of Tōkyō, Ōsaka, and Kyōtō are called *fu*, and the districts are divided into "urban" (*cho*) and "rural" (*son*), according to the number of houses they contain. The prefectures are named after their chief towns.

In the system of local administration full effect is given to the principle of popular representation. Each prefecture (urban or rural), each county, each town and each district (urban or rural), has its local assembly, the number of members being fixed in proportion to the population. There is no superior limit of number in the case of a pre-

fectural assembly, but the inferior limit is thirty. For a town assembly, however, the superior limit is sixty and the inferior thirty; for a county assembly the corresponding figures are forty and fifteen, and for a district assembly, thirty and eight. These bodies are all elective. The property qualification for the franchise in the case of prefectural and county assemblies is an annual payment of direct national taxes to the amount of three *yen;* and in the case of town and district assemblies, two *yen;* while to be eligible for election to a prefectural assembly a yearly payment of ten *yen* of direct national taxes is necessary; to a county assembly, five *yen*, and to a town or district assembly, two *yen*. In towns and districts franchise-holders are further divided into classes with regard to their payment of local taxes. Thus, for town electors there are three classes differentiated by the following process: On the list of rate-payers, the highest are checked off until their aggregate payments are equal to one-third of the total taxes. These persons form the first class. Next below them the persons whose aggregate payments represent the same fraction (one-third) of the total amount are checked off to form the second class, and all the remainder form the third class. Each class elects one-third of the members of assembly. In the districts there are only two classes, namely, those whose payments, in order from the highest, aggregate one-half of the total, the remaining names on the list

being placed in the second class. Each class elects one-half of the members. This is called the system of *ō-jinushi* (large landowners), and it is found to work satisfactorily as a device for conferring representative rights in proportion to property. The franchise is withheld from all local salaried officials, from judicial officials, from ministers of religion, from persons who, not being barristers by profession, assist the people in affairs connected with law courts or official bureaux, and from every individual, or member of a company, that contracts for the execution of public works or the supply of articles to a local administration, as well as from persons unable to write their own names and the name of the candidate for whom they vote. Members of assembly are not paid. For prefectural and county assemblies the term is four years; for town and district assemblies, six years, with the provision that one-half of the members must be elected every third year. The prefectural assemblies hold one session of thirty days yearly; the county assemblies, one session of not more than fourteen days; the town and district assemblies have no fixed session: they are summoned by the mayor or the head-man when their deliberations appear necessary, and they continue in session till their business is concluded. Speaking broadly, the chief function of the assemblies is to deal with all questions of local finance. They discuss and vote the yearly budgets; they pass the settled accounts; they fix the

local taxes[1] within a maximum limit which bears a certain ratio to the national taxes; they make representations to the Minister of State for Home Affairs; they deal with the fixed property of the locality; they raise loans and so on. It is necessary, however, that they should obtain the consent of the Minister of State for Home Affairs, and sometimes of the Minister of Finance also, before disturbing any objects of scientific, artistic, or historical importance; before contracting loans; before imposing special taxes, or passing the normal limits of taxation; before enacting new local regulations or changing the old; before dealing with grants in aid made by the Central Treasury, etc. The governor of a prefecture, who is appointed by the Central Administration, is invested with considerable power. He oversees the carrying out of all works undertaken at public expense; he causes bills to be drafted for discussion by an assembly; he is responsible for the administration of the funds and property of the prefecture; he orders payments and signs receipts; he directs the machinery for collecting taxes and fees; he summons a prefectural assembly, opens it and closes it, and has competence to suspend its session, should such a course seem necessary. Many of the functions performed by the governor with regard to prefectural assemblies are discharged by a "head-man" (*gun-chō*) in the case of county assemblies. This head-man

[1] See Appendix, note 13.

is a salaried official appointed by the Central Administration. He convenes, opens and closes the county assembly ; he may require it to reconsider any of its financial decisions that seem improper, explaining his reasons for doing so, and should the assembly adhere to its original view, he may refer the matter to the governor of the prefecture. On the other hand, the assembly is competent to appeal to the Home Minister from the governor's decision. The county head-man may also take upon himself, in case of emergency, any of the functions falling within the competence of the county assembly, provided that he reports the fact to the assembly and seeks its sanction at the earliest possible opportunity. In each district also there is a head-man, but his post is always elective and generally non-salaried. He occupies towards a district assembly the same position that the county head-man holds towards a county assembly. Over the governors stands the Minister of State for Home Affairs, who discharges general duties of superintendence and sanction, has competence to elide any item of a local budget, and may, with the Emperor's consent, order the dissolution of a local assembly, provided that steps are taken to elect and convene another within three months. The machinery of local administration is completed by councils of which the governor of a prefecture, the mayor of a town,[1] or the head-man of a county or district,

[1] See Appendix, note 14.

is *ex-officio* president, and the councillors are partly elective, partly nominated by the Central Government. The councils may be said to stand in an executive position towards the local legislatures, namely, the assemblies, for the former give effect to the measures voted by the latter, take their place in case of emergency and consider questions submitted by them. This system of local government has now been in operation for fifteen years, and has been found to work well. It constitutes a thorough method of political education for the people, since the local assemblies — prefectural, county, town, and district — aggregate no less than 15,492 throughout the Empire. The general plan is Japanese, and the details have much in common with the old-time organisation familiar to the people, but in elaborating the scheme considerable assistance was obtained from German experts.[1]

The work of railway building was commenced by the *Meiji* Government in 1869, and the first line — that between Tōkyō and Yokohama, a distance of eighteen miles — was opened for traffic in 1872. But private capitalists showed no inclination to engage in such enterprise, and when at length in 1888 a company — the *Nippon Tetsudo Kaisha* (Japan Railway Company) — was projected, its organisation could not be completed until the Treasury guaranteed eight per cent on the paid-up capital for fifteen years. Progress was slow at first, so

[1] See Appendix, note 15.

that in 1888 the total length of lines in operation was only 318 miles, of which 205 miles had been built by the Government and 113 by private enterprise. Thenceforth the work of construction proceeded more rapidly, so that the average annual addition made to private lines until the close of 1899 was 208 miles, and that made to State lines, 40 miles.

The total length of lines open for traffic at the end of 1899 was 3,639 miles, of which 833 miles had been constructed by the State and 2,806 miles by private companies. The expenditure on account of State lines had been 70,000,000 *yen*, in round numbers, or 84,034 *yen* per mile; and that on account of private lines, 187,000,000 (including debentures and loans), or 66,286 *yen* per mile. The difference in cost of construction is explained by the facts that portions of the State roads were built before experience had indicated cheap methods; that extensive works for carriage building, repairs of locomotives, etc., are connected with the Government lines, and that it has fallen to the lot of the State to undertake roads running through districts that present exceptional engineering difficulties, such districts being naturally avoided by private companies. The number of passengers and the quantity of goods carried over all the lines during 1899 were 102,115,942 and 18,820,034 tons, respectively; the gross earnings amounted to 38,219,272 *yen*, and the working expenses to 18,833,217 *yen*, leaving a net profit of 19,386,055

yen. Thus the working expenses represented forty-nine per cent of the earnings, and the net profits averaged a little over seven and a half per cent of the invested capital.

The Government has in hand a programme involving the construction of 1,230 miles of new railways, and private companies — which number 103 in all — have obtained charters for building 961 miles, the former work involving an outlay of 114,500,000 *yen*, and the latter an outlay of 60,000,000. Thus the roads actually in operation and those immediately projected total 5,830 miles, and the capital involved will aggregate 431,500,000 *yen*.

The programme of railway construction, as originally planned and subsequently carried out in great part, had for its basis a grand trunk line extending the whole length of the main island from Aomori on the north to Shimonoseki on the south, a distance of 1,153 miles; and a continuation of the same line throughout the length of the southern island of Kiushiu from Moji on the north — which lies on the opposite side of the strait from Shimonoseki — to Kagoshima on the south, a distance of 232 ¾ miles, as well as a line from Moji to Nagasaki, a distance of 163 ½ miles. Of this main road, the State undertook to build the central section (376 miles), between Tōkyō and Kobe (*viâ* Kyōtō); the Japan Railway Company undertook the portion (457 miles) northward of Tōkyō to Awomori; the Sanyo

Railway Company undertook the portion (320 miles) southward of Kyōtō to Shimonoseki; and the Kiushiu Railway Company undertook the lines in Kiushiu. The whole road is now in operation with the exception of two sections measuring 45 ¼ miles and 89 ¼ miles, respectively, namely, the part of the Sanyo Railway between Mitajiri and Shimonoseki, and the part of the Kiushiu Railway between Kumamoto and Kagoshima. It is not literally correct to say that this main trunk line has been constructed as originally planned. The first project was to carry the Tōkyō-Kyōtō road through the interior of the island so as to secure it against enterprises on the part of a maritime enemy. Such engineering difficulties presented themselves, however, that the coast route was ultimately chosen, and though the line through the interior was subsequently undertaken, strategical considerations have not been allowed to govern its direction completely. The programme of construction is rendered sufficiently clear by a glance at the map.

When Japan began to build railways, much discussion was taking place in England and India as to the relative advantages of the wide and narrow gauges, and so strongly did the arguments in favour of the metre-gauge appeal to the Indian Government that it adopted the latter in 1873, although some five thousand miles of wide-gauge roads had already been built. The English advisers of the Japanese Government maintained

similar views, and it resulted that the metre (3 ft. 6 in.) gauge was chosen. Some fitful efforts made in later years to change the system proved unsuccessful, and there is now little reason to foresee any departure from the metre gauge. The lines, too, are single, for the most part: only 250 miles of double track exist out of the 3,639 miles of road that have been built; and as the embankments, the cuttings, the culverts, and the bridge-piers have not been constructed for a double line, any change now would be very costly. The average speed of passenger trains in Japan is 18 miles an hour, the corresponding figure over the metre-gauge roads in India being 16 miles, and the figure for English parliamentary trains, from 19 to 28 miles. British engineers surveyed the routes for the first lines, and superintended the work of construction, but within a few years the Japanese were able to dispense with foreign aid altogether, both in building and managing their railroads. They also construct carriages and wagons, but not locomotives, for though one was successfully built at the Kobe workshops under the superintendence of a British engineer, the enterprise did not continue. The lines are well ballasted, but the carriages are not comfortable, and the points and signal arrangements are of old patterns. Nevertheless there is tolerable immunity from accidents and irregularities, and seeing that the working expenses average only 49 per cent of the gross earnings, whereas

the corresponding figure in England is 55, it can scarcely be doubted that the management is tolerably efficient, though facilities and arrangements for the carriage of goods are still in a somewhat undeveloped condition.

The growth of Japan's mercantile marine during the *Meiji* era must not be omitted from the story of her modern development. In 1870 she possessed only 35 steamers, their total registered tonnage being 15,498 tons, with 11 sailing vessels of foreign rig, aggregating 2,454 tons; that is to say, a commercial fleet of 46 vessels, having a tonnage of 17,952 tons. The figures for 1899 were: steamers, 1,221 (total registered tonnage, 315,168 tons), and sailing vessels, 3,322 (total registered tonnage, 269,032), making a fleet of 4,543 ships with a tonnage of 584,200 tons. She has now regular steamship services to China, to Vladivostock, to Korea, to Australia, to Formosa, to British India, to North America, and to Europe. Moreover, she is in a position to use her large army for over-sea purposes, a fine fleet of transports being at all times procurable. Much of this development has taken place since the conclusion of the China-Japan war in 1894–1895, the Government having included in its post-bellum programme a law granting liberal aid to ship-builders and ship-owners. Japan is not yet able, however, to build iron vessels in her own dockyards. She understands the work of construction, and can turn out large steamers by im-

porting materials from abroad. But she has not hitherto possessed an iron foundry capable of meeting the wants of her ship-builders, nor have her iron mines furnished a sufficient supply of good ore. Both deficiencies are now on the point of being remedied, a large foundry having been erected at Wakamatsu in Kiushiu, and arrangements having been made to supplement the home supply of ore by recourse to China. A factory for rolling steel plates is also in contemplation, and it may be confidently predicted that before many years the Japanese will be able to build their own warships and to manufacture their armaments.

Chapter IV

CREED AND CASTE

THE growth of worlds in space, the separation of seas and lands by word of command, the creation of light and the genesis of all things, as recounted by Moses, make no smaller demand upon human credulity than do the cosmographical legends of primeval Japan. Yet to the former centuries of thought and cycles of discussion are devoted, while the latter are dismissed with a note of exclamation.

The sequence of ideas that presided at the elaboration of the Japanese cosmogony is at once logical and illogical. Sometimes it shocks the most lenient intelligence; sometimes it surprises the most skeptical scrutiny. In the beginning of all sentient things two supreme beings are placed, — Izanagi and Izanami, — themselves the outcome of a series of semi-mystical, semi-realistic processes of evolution. Matter already exists. With its origin the Japanese cosmographist does not attempt to deal. *Ex nihilo nihil fit* seems to him an undeniable proposition, as it seemed to Moses also. But it is matter almost completely lacking consistency, an indescribable, nebulous,

unsubstantial, floating, muddy foam. Drops of this filmy thing, falling from the point of Izanagi's spear, crystallise into the first land, rising small and solitary from the "blue waste of sea." By that time the evolution of the creator and creatrix has attained such a stage that they are capable of procreation. They beget the islands of Japan as well as a number of lesser divinities, fashioned after their own image.

It is to be observed that the Japanese cosmographist did not rise to the idea of immaculate conception. He found the process of procreation sufficiently inscrutable, sufficiently miraculous, even as he knew it, to be worthy of the great originators of all things, and he saw no occasion to explain a miracle by a miracle.

To the islands thus begotten a number of the new deities descend. These are the terrestrial divinities. At the outset the condition of the land born in the waste of waters is almost as that of the earth in the language of the Pentateuch, — without form, and void, darkness brooding over the face of the deep. Then the god of fire is brought forth, his celestial mother expiring in travail. The creator follows her to the underworld, but fails to recover her from its shades, and, on his return, purifies himself by washing in the waves, during which process many new deities are evolved, among them, and chief among them, the Goddess of the Sun (*Amaterasu*), but among them, also, a legion of evil spirits of pollution,

destined to torment and afflict human beings through all ages. The eating of the forbidden fruit bequeathed to the Christian world its legacy of sorrow and suffering and its awful doctrine of original sin. The violation of a law higher than his own mandates condemned Izanagi to become the father of his children's enemies.

It will be observed that the conception of cleanliness and the birth of light are synchronised in the Japanese system. Thereafter ensues an epoch during which the spirits of evil gain sway in the newly created world, confusion and tumult increase, until at last the creator delegates to the Sun Goddess the task of restoring peace and order. She dispatches her nephew Ninigi to do the god's bidding, and by him the terrestrial divinities are induced to surrender the sceptre, though they continue during centuries to struggle for power, until Jimmu, the first mortal descendant of Ninigi, completes their subjugation.

In this cosmogony the birth of fire precedes that of light, but both constitute a part of the celestial cataclysm by which the earth is transformed from chaos to cosmos. Other pens, tracing the same story under other skies, constructed a not dissimilar version, still reverentially taught in the nurseries and churches of the Occident, — a world of indescribable matter, formless, void, and dark ; the creation of land and its separation from water ; a sun called into existence

to lighten and vivify; a long era of preparation, divided into six epochs by the inspired writers of the Old Testament, but of indefinite length in the Japanese cosmogony; finally, the subjugation of the rebellious angels, the appearance of man upon the scene, and his acquisition of dominion.

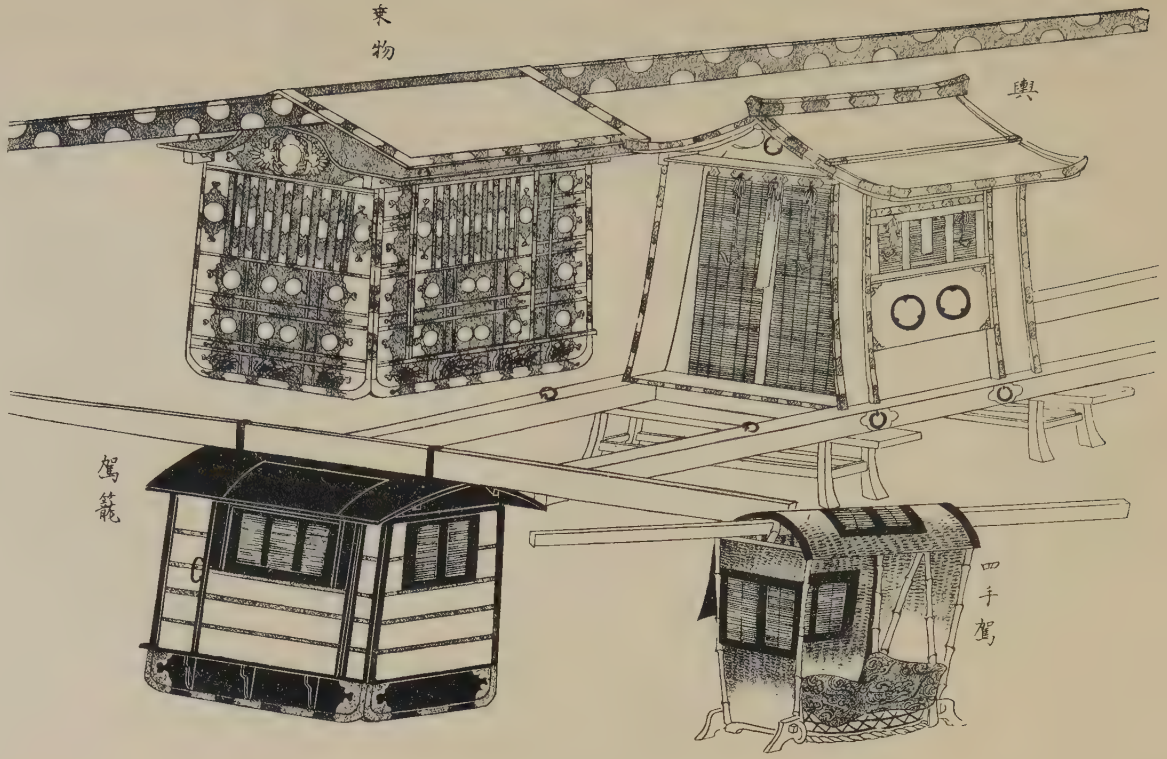
It has been said that whoever the earliest invaders of the Far-Eastern islands were, there is no more reason to suppose that they came to Japan without a religion than that they arrived there without a language. It has been further said by a learned sinologue that Amaterasu is identical with the Persian Mithras. A slightly increased strain upon the imaginative faculty might extend the line of Jimmu's ancestors to the city of Ur and the thirty-million-bricked temple of the Sun God; for if it be once conceded that the Japanese cosmogony is not indigenous but exotic, and if ingenuity applies itself to trace analogies between the outlines of *Shintō* and those of some continental "revelation," or likenesses between the nomenclatures of the two, startling results are soon reached. Such speculations are beside the business of showing what the Japanese believed, and how their beliefs influenced their lives.

Touching briefly upon these topics in a previous chapter, note was taken of the possibility of translating Japan's semi-mythical traditions into a vulgar record of aggressive invasions and defensive struggles; conflicts between the lust of conquest and the love of altar and hearth. Interesting

as such interpretations prove to the historian, they must not be allowed to exclude other considerations; for whatever secular facts may be embodied in these ancient cosmographies, they enshrine also the germs of Japan's primitive religion, *Shintō*, or "the Way of the Gods," as it came to be called when the presence of other creeds made a distinctive appellation necessary. Before passing to a brief examination of the creed, a word may be said as to how its supernatural elements presented themselves to the national mind.

Among foreign observers it is commonly said that destructive criticism has never been permitted to invade the cosmogonal realm in Japan; that the basis of the national polity being the divine origin of the Emperor, any doubts thrown upon the traditions by which that genealogy is established would be counted treasonable. There is a large measure of truth in the supposition, but it is not the whole truth. If anti-Christian persecutions be excepted — and these were altogether political — men did not suffer any penalty for their opinions in Japan. The celebrated scholar Arai Hakuseki published a work of strongly rationalistic tendencies in the beginning of the eighteenth century; and some sixty years later, Ichikawa Tatsumaro wrote a brochure containing many of the criticisms that have been given to the world with such telling effect by modern European sinologues.[1] It would not have been pos-

[1] See Appendix, note 16.



NORIMONO AND KAGA.

sible for any critic to attack more ruthlessly the principle of the Mikado's divine descent than Ichikawa attacked it. Yet he went unscathed; nay more, he and Arai received the high appreciation justly accorded to those who, through a sense of duty, oppose the strong current of popular opinion. With regard, on the other hand, to the faith of believers in the bases of *Shintō*, it may be summed up in the words attributed by Byron to Athena's wisest son. "All that we know is, nothing can be known." "It is impossible for man with his limited intelligence," writes Motoori Norinaga,[1] "to find out the principles which govern the acts of the gods;" they "are not to be explained by ordinary theories. It is true that the traditions of the creation and of its divine directors, as handed down from antiquity, involve the idea of acts which, judged by the petty standards of human philosophy, are accounted miracles. But if the age of the gods has passed away, if they no longer work world-fashioning and heaven-unrolling wonders, none the less are we surrounded on all sides by inexplicable miracles. The suspension of the earth in space, the functions of the human body, the flight of birds and insects through the air, the blossoming of plants and trees, the ripening of seeds and fruits, — do not these things transcend human intelligence as hopelessly as the begetting of matter and the birth of the sun? And if it be called irrational

[1] See Appendix, note 17.

to believe in gods that are invisible to human eyes, may we not answer that the existence of many things is unquestioningly accepted, though our eyes cannot discern their shapes? Do we not know that sweet odours exist, and soft sounds; that the air caresses our cheek, and that the wind blows over the sea; do we not know that fire is hot and water cold, though of the nature of heat and cold we know nothing? The principles that animate the universe are beyond the power of analysis, neither can they be fathomed by human intelligence. All statements founded on pretended explanations of them are to be rejected. All that man can think out and know is limited by the power of sight, of feeling, and of calculation. What transcends those powers lies beyond the potential range of thought." [1] There would not be much difficulty in fitting foreign analogies to this suggestive framework of Japanese conceptions.

Side by side with an attitude so humble towards the mysteries of nature, there was an almost fierce assertion of Japan's claim to be the repository of revealed truth. "Our country," says Hirata Atsutane, "owing to the facts that it was begotten by the two gods Izanagi and Izanami, that it was the birthplace of the Sun Goddess, and that it is ruled by her sublime descendants for ever and ever, as long as the universe shall endure, is infinitely superior to other countries,

[1] See Appendix, note 18.

whose chief and head it is. Its people are honest and upright of heart, not given to useless theorising and falsehoods like other nations. Thus it possesses correct and true information with regard to the origin of the universe, — information transmitted to us from the age of the gods, unaltered and unmixed, even in the slightest degree, with unsupported notions of individuals. This is the genuine and true tradition." Here again the reader, if he pleases, can find in the Occident parallel examples of defiant faith based on an equally small grain of mustard seed.

From what has thus far been written, it will be seen at once that ancestor-worship was the basis of *Shintō*. The divinities, whether celestial or terrestrial, were the progenitors of the nation, from the sovereign and the princes surrounding the Throne to the nobles who discharged the services of the State and the soldiers who fought its battles.

Worship of these gods seems to have been originally conducted in the open air. Shrines were not constructed until the first century before the Christian era. Very soon, however, the children of the deities found no lack of set places to pray, for from the *naiku* and *geku* of Ise, the Mecca of Japan, to the miniature *miyas* that dotted the rice plains, thousands of shrines might be counted throughout the realm, and every house had its *Kami-dana*, or "god shelf," before which morning and evening prayers were

said with unfailing regularity and devoutness. Many Western critics have alleged that *Shintō* is not a religion; that it provides no system of morals, offers no ethical code, has no ritual, and does not concern itself about a future state. Nevertheless, creed or cult, *Shintō* may certainly claim to have established a strong hold upon the heart of the people. The annual pilgrimages to the Shrines of Ise, where the Goddess of the Sun and the Goddess of Abundance are worshipped, attract tens of thousands of devotees each spring, and the renovation of the buildings every twentieth year[1] rouses the whole nation to a fervour of faith. Not a peasant believes that his farm can be productive, not a merchant that his business can thrive, unless he pays, or honestly resolves to pay, at least one visit to Ise during his lifetime, and no household believes itself purged of sin unless its members clasp hands and bow heads regularly before the *Kami-dana*. *Shintō*, in truth, is essentially a family creed. Its roots are entwined around the principle of the household's integrity and perpetuity. Nothing that concerns the welfare of the family or the peace and prosperity of the household is too small or too humble for apotheosis. There is a deity of the caldron in which the rice is boiled, as there is a deity of thunder; there is a god of the saucepan, as there is a divinity of the harvest; there is a spirit of the "long-rope well," as there is a spirit of phys-

[1] See Appendix, note 19.

ical perfection. All the affairs of man are supposed to have a claim on the benevolent solicitude of these immortal guardians. In the ritual for invoking fortune on behalf of the Imperial Palace at the time of building — the ritual of dedication — the spirits of rice and of timber are besought, with the utmost precision of practical detail, to forefend the calamity of serpents' crawling under the threshold; the calamity of birds' flying in through the smoke-holes in the roof and defiling the food; the calamity of pillars' loosening and joints' creaking at night. On the other hand, all great affairs of State, all national enterprises, are similarly entrusted to the fostering care of the deities. As for rituals, details of ceremonial, and rules for the guidance of priests and priestesses, they fill fifty volumes, and descend to the utmost minutiæ, the part taken by each functionary being carefully set forth, from that of the chief cook who laid on the fire and set the rice-pot over it, or that of the superintendent of fisheries who fanned the flame, to that of the priest-noble who recited the ritual. The presentation of offerings to the tutelary deity or to the departed spirit just enrolled among the immortals, formed an important part of the ceremonial, and the ritual used on the occasion enumerated the offerings,[1] while at the same time setting forth the grounds for paying reverence to the deceased.[2] However obscure the origin of some among the multitude of observ-

[1] See Appendix, note 20.

[2] See Appendix, note 21.

ances prescribed by the sacred canon, an analysis of the twenty-seven great rituals shows that the main purpose of worship was to secure the blessings of peace and plenty. The family on earth associated itself by offerings and orisons with the family in heaven. Among the whole twenty-seven rituals[1] one only is designed to avert the influence of evil spirits. It does not appear to have entered largely into the theory of the creed that enmities formed on this side of the grave continued to be active in the region beyond. The disquieting contingency was there, indeed. The curse of a dying foe might be fulfilled by his spirit after death, and services of exorcism were prescribed to meet that emergency. But this *tatari* was confined to the generation responsible for its origin. The general conception was that of kindly spirits, from the all-father and the all-mother to the shades of departed parents and relatives, ready to extend useful tutelage to their mortal descendants. The capacity to work injury after death was explained by a theory corresponding with the Occidental idea of the duality of man's nature. Every human being possessed a rough spirit and a gentle spirit. The former, when stirred to intense activity by a sense of suffering or the passion of resentment, acquired the potentiality of a mischievous agent, acting independently of matter, and could even assume the shape of the sufferer or of the avenger for

[1] See Appendix, note 22.

the purpose of tormenting the injurer or the enemy. Such phenomena were not necessarily preceded by the liberation of the divine element from its mortal prison; they might take place during life, and even without the knowledge of the person exercising the telepathic influence. Nor were they confined to the rough spirit. The gentle spirit also, under strongly emotional circumstances, became capable of defying the restraints of time and space.[1] The permanent existence of evil gods, however, constituted an article of the faith. *Shintō* did not propound to its disciples the inscrutable problem of an omniscient, omnipotent, and all-merciful deity creating beings foredoomed to eternal torture, and licensing a Satan to ply the trade of tempter and perverter. It adopted the simpler theory that the malign demons were the outcome of a fault of creation. Born of the corruption contracted by Izanagi during his visit to the land of the shades, these wicked spirits, who "glittered like fireflies and were as disorderly as spring insects; who gave voices to rocks, tree-stumps, leaves, and the foam of the green sea,"[2] had been expelled from the terrestrial region but not annihilated: they continued to interfere mischievously in human affairs, and it was necessary to propitiate them with offerings, music, and dancing. Their doings did not, however, seriously perturb the even tenor of daily life. There never was any tendency to regard

[1] See Appendix, note 23.

[2] See Appendix, note 24.

the world as a battlefield of demons and angels, as was the belief of mediæval Europe, or to entertain a Manichean belief in the frequent victories of evil spirits.

In the shrines there were no images. The only object exposed to invite the adoration of the worshipper was a mirror, the "spirit substitute" which the Goddess of Light gave to be to her descendants a representative of her presence in their midst. Often the place of the mirror is taken by a pillow for the repose of the guardian deity or by some other "spirit substitute," for the mirror, being the special symbol of the Goddess of Light, is not placed in shrines dedicated to local divinities (*uji-gami*). Two objects are always openly associated with a *Shintō* shrine, the *go-hei* and the *torii*. The latter, as its name indicates,[1] was originally designed to typify a perch for birds. In *Shintō* traditions it is associated with the eclipse of the Sun Goddess. Outside the cave into which the goddess had retreated, cocks, collected by the gods, were set crowing to create the impression that even without the rising of the orb of day morn had dawned. Barn-door fowls thus found a place among the offerings to the goddess through all time, and the *torii* typified the fact. Its degradation in later ages to the rank of a gate is an error for which its shape is doubtless responsible, but it may generally be seen in its true rôle beside the little shrines of Inari,[2] where

[1] See Appendix, note 25.

[2] See Appendix, note 26.

the peasant prays. The *go-hei*, or sacred offering, takes the form of a wand supporting a pendant of paper zigzags. It represents the coarse cloth and fine cloth that always appeared among the offerings. From symbolising the concrete devotion of the worshipper and its abstract acceptance by the deity, the *go-hei* became, by an easily conceived transition, an evidence of the favouring presence of the worshipped spirit, and in that character acquired powers of inspiration the exercise of which has been made the basis of a theory of esoteric *Shintō*.[1]

From what has already been said about the "rough spirit" and the "gentle spirit," the reader will not be surprised to find in *Shinto* practices a repetition of the phenomenon that has puzzled so many minds, from the days of Njal and his *forspan* to those of Charcot and second sight. The *aura epileptica* blew in the old Japan and still blows in the new, as it has blown among all nations in all ages. Before *Shintō* shrines one may constantly see examples of what some folks call "mountain-moving faith," and others more prosaically regard as an abnormal mood produced by concentrated attention and abeyance of the will, namely, unconscious cerebration, taking the form of a hypnotic trance with telepathic capabilities, wonderful and inscrutable to vulgar minds. These "spirit-possessions" find their prototype in the phrensy of the goddess that

[1] See Appendix, note 27.

danced before the cave of the Sun Deity, and in the oracle-uttering mood of the Empress Jingo. Sometimes this idea that the spirits of the deified may be induced to obey the summons of their earthly relatives is played with by mercenary charlatans, as was and is the case in Europe; sometimes it appears to be capable of exciting a nervous ecstasy during which the body becomes insensible to pain. It is unnecessary to dwell upon these things. They have their counterpart everywhere, and can scarcely be regarded as distinctive of *Shintō*.

A contention often advanced is that *Shintō* has no code of morals and does not concern itself about a future state. As to the former argument, it may be pointed out that the intuitive system of morality receives its fullest recognition when ethical sanctions are not coded. If man derives the first principles of his duties from intuition; if he be so constituted that the notion of right carries with it a sense of obligation, then a schedule of rules and regulations for the direction of every-day conduct becomes not only superfluous but illogical. That was the moral basis of *Shintō*. If the feet were kept steadfast in the path of truth, the guardianship of the Gods was assured even without praying for it.[1] The all-creator took care, when he fashioned man, that a knowledge of good and evil should be an integral part of the structure. Unless such a knowledge be

[1] See Appendix, note 28.

assumed, man becomes inferior to the animals, all of which have a guiding instinct. To have acquired the conviction that there is no ethical system to be learned and practised, is to have acquired the method of acting as the gods act. For the rest, precept is far inferior to example. The former suggests itself only when the latter is absent. Show a man a record of noble deeds actually performed, and he will burn with a desire to emulate them, whereas a statement of the principles of courage and loyalty will leave him comparatively unmoved. The gods are not to be importuned with prolix prayers, or asked to condone crimes knowingly committed. The petitions of humanity are wafted by the wind to the plain of high heaven: "I say, with awe, deign to bless me by correcting the unwilling faults which, seen and heard by you, I have committed; by blowing off and clearing away the calamities which evil gods might inflict; by causing me to live long [1] like the hard and lasting rock, and by repeating to the gods of heavenly origin and to the gods of earthly origin the petitions which I present every day, along with your breath, that they may hear with the sharp-earedness of the forth-galloping colt." [2] Such was the morning prayer to the Spirit of the Wind. Apart from the satisfaction of well-doing, uniform obedience to the dictates of conscience brought its reward. It is true that the rule did not always

[1] See Appendix, note 29. [2] See Appendix, note 30.

hold; the evil sometimes prospered while the good experienced misfortunes. That was because the "Spirits of Crookedness" were occasionally able to defy the "Spirits of Benevolence." But, on the whole, the hatred of the "Invisible Gods" [1] was assured to wrong-doers. "The deities bestow blessings and happiness on him that practises virtue as effectually as though they appeared before us bearing treasures. And even if the virtuous do not obtain material recompense, they enjoy exemption from disease, good fortune, and longevity, and their descendants prosper. Pay no attention to the praise or blame of fellow-men, but act so that you need not be ashamed before the Gods of the Unseen. If you desire to practise true virtue, learn to stand in awe of the Unseen, and that will prevent you from doing wrong. Make a vow to the God that rules over the Unseen, and cultivate the conscience implanted in you, and thus you will never wander from the Way." [2]

But if virtue might be expected to bring some recompense in this world, fear of eternal punishment did not reinforce the prompting of conscience, nor did hope of reward beyond the grave constitute a dominant incentive to well-doing. An under-world did, indeed, find a place in the system. The "August Creator" descended to it in search of his spouse after her demise in travail of fire. The God of the Sea, weary of banish-

[1] See Appendix, note 31. [2] See Appendix, note 32.

ment from the heavenly plains, would fain have gone to his mother beneath the earth. The efficacy of the "Sacred Jewel" consisted in holding back the believer from the road to the region of the dead. But this under-world was not connected with any idea of merciless tortures inflicted on the damned through endless ages. It was simply the place of darkness, — the moon, according to some; the depths of the ocean, according to others. The finite was not followed by an infinite aftermath of misery. The worship of the beloved and revered dead precluded all idea of their condemnation to everlasting torment, just as it necessarily included the conception of the soul's immortality. Rituals were not read nor offerings piled up to victims of annihilation. Those that passed the portals still lived, a large, a more potential, a deathless life, waiting to be joined by those they had preceded. Within every man was something of the god, and though, after death, one obtained higher place than another in the divine hierarchy, all were sure of apotheosis.[1] The issue of human enterprises, the distribution of fortune's favours, were considered to be under the control of the tutelary deities, the ancestral spirits, but men were themselves endowed with capacity for distinguishing between good and evil, and with strength to follow their judgment so tenaciously as to qualify for fellowship with the denizens of high heaven. At the

[1] See Appendix, note 33.

same time error was theoretically avoidable and should therefore have been practically unpardonable. But sins might be expiated or forgiven. The sovereign occupied the position of the nation's high-priest. Twice annually he celebrated the great festival of general purification by which the people were purged of offences and pollutions and saved from consequent calamities. Every family also kept within the *Kami-dana* an amulet consisting of pieces of the sacred wand used at these festivals, the possession of the token being supposed to ward off the effects of evil-doing.[1]

Of the cleanliness that this creed inculcated much might be written; of the lustrations that preceded every sacred rite; of the shrinking from every source of pollution and contamination; of the simplicity of every ceremonial apparatus; of the unvaried rusticity observed in the architecture of the shrines, and of the unsculptured, unornamented purity of the timber used in their construction. Indeed this phase of *Shintō* had a dehumanising influence. Excessive dread of contamination led to violations of a far higher duty: the sick were not duly tended, and the maimed or diseased were often thrust out to die. Charity was a virtue scarcely suggested by the *Shintō* cosmogony, and not inculcated by the rituals or ceremonials of the creed. Kindness to animals received isolated recognition,[2] but "the

[1] See Appendix, note 34.

[2] See Appendix, note 35.

golden rule" was not written between the lines of any prayer or any legend.

The part assigned to woman, however, and the value attached to female virtue distinguish *Shintō* from other Oriental cults or creeds, especially from the patriarchal system of the Chinese, with which it is often confounded. In China a girl child being disqualified to conduct ancestral worship, her birth is counted a misfortune and the preservation of her life a burden. In *Shintō* the principal objects of national adoration, the deities worshipped at the grand shrines of Ise, are the Sun Goddess and the Goddess of Food. Among the attributes assigned to the former, in addition to her prime functions, are those of selecting the guests or frequenters of the Emperor's abode; of correcting and softening discontent and unruliness; of keeping the male and female attendants in order; of preventing princes, councillors, and functionaries from indulging their independent inclinations. At the foundation and construction of sacred buildings, young virgins cleared and levelled the ground, dug holes for the corner posts, took the axe and made the first cut in the trees to be felled for timber. A priestess was the central figure in the great Ceremony of Purification at the Kasuga temple; a young girl cleaned the shrine; women and girls on horseback moved in the procession; after the sacrificial vessels and chests of offerings followed carriages containing some of the Em-

peror's female attendants. Even the wind was under the control of a female deity as well as a male; for to the disciples of *Shintō* the wind did not present itself as a fierce, turbulent agent of nature, but rather as an ether filling the space between earth and sky, the ladder by which spirits ascended to heaven. When Susano-o, expelled from the company of the gods, repaired to earth, his first exploit was to save a maiden from an eight-headed dragon which, year by year, had devoured one of her seven sisters. It was to a priest-princess that the Emperor Sujin entrusted the sacred mirror and sword after a divine revelation that they must no longer be kept in his own palace; it was by her niece, the subsequent depository of the insignia, that the site of the Ise shrine was chosen. Virgin priestesses danced in honour of the gods of each locality, and the birth of three maidens from the fragments of the "Impetuous Male Deity's" sword was held to prove the purity of his intentions. From the earliest times, legendary or historical, the sovereign was surrounded by a number of females, and down to the reign of the present Emperor's immediate predecessor, women alone were admitted to the Imperial presence, in accordance with the belief that, among the eight tutelary deities of the Mikado, one represented the female influence surrounding the Throne and imparting a gentle smoothness to the ruler's relations with the ruled.

The high rank accorded to woman in the

Shintō system, the important functions assigned to her, and the value attaching to virginal purity, are thus amply proved. But while the beauty of virginity was recognised, no merit attached to celibacy. The maidens engaged in the service of the gods must preserve their chastity during the period of ministration, but after they had quitted the priesthood, no obstacle stood in the way of their marriage. Neither do we find any direct or indirect inculcation of the principle of monogamy. On the contrary, the chief of the terrestrial deities when, by a display of pity to an animal, he had won the hand of a princess for whose love he was his brothers' rival, made her his second wife, and, moreover, became the father of many children by other women.

Shintō traditions offer no distinct precedent for a custom characteristic of the educated Japanese in all ages; the custom of resorting to suicide as an honourable exit from a humiliating or hopeless situation. One incident, indeed, may possibly be quoted as the prototype of the practice. The son of the chief terrestrial deity, when he decided to abandon his right of succession in favour of the delegates of heaven, trod on the edge of his boat so as to overturn it, and with his hands crossed behind his back in token of submission, disappeared, — abdicated and killed himself, in simpler language. There is no warrant for assuming, however, that the example of the deity had any influence in establishing the

Japanese habit of anticipating surrender by suicide. If a creed which divests death of all terrors by representing it as a prelude to apotheosis ought to have helped to make suicide easy, it should also have tended to impart to death the character of emancipation from the body's thraldom, whereas the history of the Japanese people does not show that escape from life ever presented itself seriously to cultured minds as euthanasia, a means of eluding the pangs of disease or preventing the dotage of age. Japan never had a Seneca or a Hegesias. A man did not abandon life because he counted the loss a blessing or a boon, or because he regarded the grave as a place of rest. When existence became an intolerable punishment, the victim of destitution or cruelty sometimes chose the last road to freedom, and it was a common habit of lovers, when all hope of union in life had disappeared, to die in each other's arms.[1] Doubtless, also, during the long centuries of warfare described in previous chapters, a certain indifference to death must have been educated by the constant necessity of inflicting it, and, as in Rome before the time of Domitian, so in Japan before the *Meiji* era (1867), suicide secured a political offender against an ignominious fate and the confiscation of his goods. But the influence of *Shintō* in this matter does not appear to have been appreciable, except in so far as it taught that death was only

[1] See Appendix, note 36.

apotheosis; a passage from the visible world to the invisible region of revered spirits.

Here the question presents itself whether *Shintō* should be regarded as a creed indigenous to Japan or as an importation from abroad. Japan owed so much to China in early days that the borrowing of a creed would not have greatly increased the debt or seriously shocked any patriotic instinct. It has already been shown that plausible grounds exist for attributing the bases of Japanese mythology to Chinese traditions, and the posthumous names of prehistoric *Mikados* to foreign sources. On the other hand, any attempt to differentiate native from alien is hampered by the constant difficulty of discerning whether the things adopted were actually Chinese systems or merely Chinese methods of systemisation. A man taught to write after he reaches adult years is not unlikely to take the rules of literary composition and even the terminology of his teachers, as well as their script, though the thoughts he sets down may be his own. That certainly was often the case with the Japanese, and it becomes necessary to look very closely before finally distinguishing the indigenous from the exotic. Thus Confucianism, a system of ethics widely embraced by the educated classes in Japan, has been credited with supplying some of the central ideas of *Shintō*, and the theory is superficially plausible. But there had existed in China for centuries before the days of Confucius a belief in a supreme

power and in the existence of some special channel of communication between that power and the ruler of the State, so that the latter acted as mediator for his subjects. The relation between the Emperor of Japan and the Sun Goddess finds here an analogy. Confucius, however, would have set aside the *Shintō* cosmogony as something wholly beyond the range of rational speculation. He recognised the power of an impersonal heaven, but he limited his moral horizon to things visible and temporal, and his recorded conduct could not possibly be reconciled with the *Shintō* faith in the direction of nature's courses and of human fortunes by a hierarchy of deities. That man should devote himself earnestly to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, should keep aloof from them, — that was the Chinese sage's definition of wisdom. He did not, as is frequently supposed, institute the worship of ancestors: it had existed in China for centuries before his time. He did not even directly inculcate the propriety of such a practice. As to a future state, he declined to predicate anything about the world beyond the grave. He did not even commit himself to an admission that sentient existence might be continued after death. Life was a mystery in his eyes; death equally inscrutable. In the vague possibilities of numbers and diagrams he vainly sought an explanation of the phenomena of the physical universe, and the sole outcome of his cosmical

studies was a discovery that if the span of his life permitted fifty years' uninterrupted groping among the pages of the Book of Changes (*Yih King*), he might hope to reach the truth. In one important respect his philosophy corresponded with *Shintō:* it was inductive. The rule of life for men in all their relations was to be found within themselves: heaven had conferred on every human being a moral sense, compliance with which would keep him always in the right path. He did not recognise, however, that consideration for woman and her chivalrous treatment should be catalogued among the promptings of conscience. With the high place assigned to woman in the *Shintō* cosmogony and the *Shintō* ceremonials, he would have been absolutely unsympathetic. Confucianism, in short, was pure secularism. Faithful followers of the Chinese sage lived as units of their families, thoughtless of a hereafter, and persuaded that the recompense of their acts would be found, if not in their own fortunes, then in those of their descendants.

It is thus easy to see how greatly Confucianism differed from *Shintō*, while, at the same time, both had much in common. The similarities and dissimilarities of the two systems are here alluded to, not simply for the sake of establishing the independence of *Shintō*, but also, and mainly, because from the time of Japan's first acquaintance with Chinese literature, Confucianism won for itself a firm place in the minds of her educated

classes. It came to her strengthened and supplemented by the genius of Mencius, and in some respects it supplied an evident want. *Shintō*, providing no moral code and relying solely on the promptings of conscience for ethical guidance, was too much of an abstraction to satisfy the ordinary mind. Confucianism, as elaborated by Mencius, offered a system of morals avowedly based on inductive sanctions yet evidently endorsed by the lessons of experience. To a profound belief in the innate goodness of human nature, it added plain expositions of the four fundamental virtues, — benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom. It taught that the first aim of administration should be the material good of the people; the second, their education. It indicated divine ordination in human affairs, and defined death in the discharge of duty as compliance with that ordination, a disgraceful death as a departure from it; which canon secured implicit obedience from the Japanese in every age. It bade men regard suffering and misfortune as Heaven's instruments for stimulating the mind, bracing the heart, and compensating defects, — a precept to which the Japanese owed much of their stoicism in adversity and their cheerfulness in poverty. It defined society as a compound of five relationships, — sovereign and subject, husband and wife, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, friend and friend, — the first four linked together by the principle of righteous and

benevolent rule on the one side, and righteous and sincere submission on the other; the last, by the mutual desire of promoting virtue. Side by side with these and other equally noble bases of ethics, it laid down an axiom which never obtained open endorsement in Japan, but which any reader following the historical retrospect contained in previous chapters must have again and again detected underlying the conduct of prominent actors upon the political stage. Confucius and Mencius alike held that the Throne is an institution of heaven, but what the former's teaching only implied, the latter's boldly formulated, namely, that the claim of "divine right" ceases to be valid unless it inures to the people's good. The people were the most important element in the Chinese Sage's conception of a nation. If the sovereign's rule were injurious to them, he must be dethroned. No Japanese in any epoch would have subscribed such a doctrine in its naked outlines. Yet in practice it received constant, though limited obedience, and the methods of obedience show striking conformity with the sequence of Mencius' prescriptions. For that philosopher laid down that the task of removing an unworthy ruler should be undertaken, first, by a member of the ruler's family; secondly, by a high minister, acting purely with a view to the public weal; and thirdly, failing either of these, by some subordinate "instrument of heaven." Mencius did not inculcate sedition, regicide, or open violence; the

standard to be raised was not of rebellion, but of righteousness. In turning over the pages of Japan's annals, it is repeatedly seen that, while the "divine right" was uniformly recognised in theory, prince after prince, minister after minister, subordinate after subordinate, did not scruple to contrive the compulsory retirement of sovereign, *Shōgun*, or feudal chief, easily persuading himself, or being honestly forced by circumstances to believe, that his own elevation to the place of the deposed ruler would make for the good of the people. *Shintō* educated no such tendency. Buddhism did not educate it. Whence, then, its origin but in Chinese philosophy?[1] It has become crystallised in the ethics of the nation. Scarcely a Japanese, however lowly his origin or humble his station, lacks the conviction that he carries a natural mandate to redress wrong in a superior, and that the method of redress depends upon his own choice, provided that his failure in "submission" be compensated by strength of "sincerity," — the coördinates of loyal obedience. Practical illustrations of this characteristic are to to be found in the field of modern Japanese politics, as of ancient.

It is seen that Japan received from China a philosophy only. Her religion was her own, in so far as concerned a future state, the immortality of the soul, the cosmogony and the providence of the gods.

[1] See Appendix, note 37.

If the reader asks why to Chinese philosophy imported into Japan results are here attributed that did not attend its propagandism in the land of its origin, the only answer is that the same seed may produce dissimilar fruit in different soils.

That a connection existed between the religious creed of the nation and the castes into which society was divided, is apparent from the nomenclature of these castes, namely, the *Shimbetsu*, or "divine tribe," to which the sovereign and princes of the blood belonged, — in other words, the tribe including all direct descendants of the deities; the *Kwobetsu*, or "imperial tribe," composed of all remote descendants from the heavenly stock; and the *Bambetsu*, or "foreign tribe," consisting of the foreign elements of the population. The difference indicated by these terms is not clearly explicable. Japanese commentators are disposed to interpret *Bambetsu* in its literal sense, that is to say, as indicating, first, such of the aboriginal inhabitants as fell under the sway of the invaders, and secondly, aliens who, having either attached themselves to the Japanese proper during the latter's passage across the Asiatic continent to the Far-Eastern isles, or immigrated thither afterwards from Korea and China, were finally naturalised in Japan. There is also a plausible theory that inasmuch as the last and ultimately dominant body of Japanese immigrants found a part of the islands already under the sway of men who were not of the aboriginal race and whose

fighting qualities commanded respect, the principal figures among these prior immigrants were admitted to the ranks of the *Kwobetsu*, while their lower orders were classed as *Bambetsu*. There appears to be little hope that these questions will be fully elucidated. As to the main lines of division, however, no doubt exists. The chiefs of the two great tribes, the *Shimbetsu* and the *Kwobetsu*, were priests as well as rulers. At the head of all stood the Mikado, — the *Suberagi* of ancient nomenclature, — who, originally within the precincts of the Palace only and afterwards by occasional visits to the principal shrine, performed religious rites on behalf of the nation's welfare. Immediately following him in order of dignity came the great families of Nakatomi, Mononobe, and Imbe representing the *Kwobetsu*. The heads of these houses possessed the right of disposing of the lives and properties of members, and the same right devolved upon the heads of the various branches into which the original households became divided as time elapsed. The Nakatomi traced their lineage to one of the principal councillors attached to the grandchild of the Sun Goddess when he descended to assume the rule of Japan; the Imbe to the deity that held the mirror and the *go-hei* before the cave on the immemorial occasion of the Sun Goddess' self-effacement; the Mononobe, to Susa-no-ō himself. Into whatever cloud-land of myth and marvel the line of these patriarchal families

ascends, their title to divine origin has received the assent of all generations of Japanese, and the links that connect their pedigrees with the present prosaic era become visible in the facts that a branch of the Nakatomi changed their name to Fujiwara,[1] in the seventh century, an epoch at which administrative functions began to interest them more than sacerdotal; that they were subsequently separated into the Five Governing Families (*Go-Sekke*); that up to the centralisation of the administration in 1868, the nominal prime-minister of every sovereign after he came of age, and the regent during his minority, belonged to the Fujiwara; that the Mononobe family has eight representatives among the present nobility, one of them being the celebrated Count Katsu, who played such a conspicuous part in the Restoration of 1867; and that no hereditary *Shintō* official (*Kannushi*) of this *Meiji* era entertains or admits any doubt of his ancestors' consanguinity with some deity, great or small.[2] Of such materials is the Japanese nobility of to-day composed, for from some *Kwobetsu* or *Shimbetsu* family all the holders of hereditary titles in modern times can trace their descent.

At the other end of the scale stood the *Bambetsu*, including the commoner (*heimin*) and the serf (*semmin*), who were immeasurably removed from the patrician and excluded from association with him in this life or beyond the grave. *Shintō*,

[1] See Appendix, note 38. [2] See Appendix, note 39.

indeed, was essentially the creed of the upper classes. They alone enjoyed the guardianship of the celestial and terrestrial divinities from whom they claimed descent and to whose ranks they would be admitted after death, and they obeyed the inductive system of *Shintō* morality which, though lacking codified tenets, certainly tended in many cases to produce a high type of character and to nurture a happy faith in the possibilities of a future state. But the *heimin* and the *semmin*, the commoners and the serfs, what religion did they embrace? Some of them, especially the farmers and artisans, might consider that they belonged remotely to the congregation of *Shintō* worshippers; but others were effectually excluded, since they lacked the essential qualification of consanguinity with the deities. Looking at the sharp lines of caste cleavage that divided both *heimin* and *semmin* from the patrician class, it seems evident that all these commoners and serfs stood originally outside the pale of the patrician creed. At any rate, if the place of the commoner in the hierarchy of the hereafter is to be regulated by his station in the society of the present, the life beyond the grave cannot have presented to him a very smiling aspect.

To a nation thus constituted Buddhism came in the second half of the sixth century. Buddhism has no element of exclusiveness. It resembles that house of many mansions on which the hopes of the numerous multiple-minded sec-

tions of Christian humanity are fixed with equal assurance that each has found the truth. In its library of over two thousand *sutras*, one of which, translated into Chinese, is twenty-five times as large as the whole Christian Bible, every searcher after the great verity may find materials to construct a creed according to the pattern of his own intellectual and emotional nature, and none can confidently assert that upon him alone the light of inspiration has shone, for none dare pretend to imagine that his researches have been exhaustive. It is here that an explanation may be found of the tranquil tolerance amid which the various sects of Buddhism have been evolved. It is here, too, that the faith attracts special interest, for, by inviting eclecticism, it becomes a mirror of its interpreter's mind. In each vessel of water drawn from the well where Buddhist truth lies so profoundly buried, a reflection may be seen of the drawer's moral features, and it follows that were it possible to trace accurately the developments received by Buddhism and the changes it has undergone during the twelve hundred years of its active existence in Japan, the student would find himself looking very closely at the genius of the Japanese people and at the guiding spirit of their civilisation.

Chapter V

RELIGION AND RITES

WESTERN students of Buddhism are wont to say that the religion has for its basis the unreality of everything, and for its goal, non-existence; that it regards man's life on earth as a link in a continuous chain of probations, to the length of which every sin adds something, so that salvation may not be reached until three immeasurable æons have lapsed.

Such is not the Buddhism of Japan. The creed, as first preached to the Japanese, was very simple. It prescribed five negative precepts and ten positive virtues,[1] of which it is enough to say that, were they practised to the letter, a high standard of morality would have been reached. These injunctions the disciple was asked to accept with unreasoning assurance. *Shintō* furnished no code nor formulated any commandment. Buddhism pursued precisely the opposite plan. It issued a guiding canon of the utmost precision, but it refrained from any exposition of motives. Its method tallied exactly with that prescribed

[1] See Appendix, note 40.

by teachers of the ideographic script which had then become the vehicle for transmitting all learning to Japan. Just as the student of the foreign symbols began by mastering their sounds and shapes and was afterwards inducted into their meanings, so an inquirer at the portals of Buddhism was first shown the letter of the law, and when he had learned how to obey, received an explanation of the principles underlying it. In the opening stage of discipline, his own salvation constituted his sole motive of conduct; in the subsequent stage of enlightenment,[1] he developed an ardent desire to save others also. But in both stages alike salvation was separated from him by an interval which his individual exertions could not bridge. Is it not easy to conceive that the great majority of the new creed's disciples never passed beyond the first stage; and is it not easy also to see that to the plebeian and proletariat classes, banished beyond the range of *Shintō* instincts and the pale of its privileges, this arithmetically precise and comfortably explicit doctrine of the Buddha offered a welcome moral refuge?

But the difference between the ardent practicality of the Japanese mind and the dreamy patience of Oriental dispositions in general, quickly affected the reception accorded to the new creed. In its moral precepts there was nothing that could be called a revelation to the members of the patrician caste, nor did its immeasurably deferred hope

[1] See Appendix, note 41.

compare attractively with their own prospect of certain admission after death to the ranks of the deities. Even the plebeian wanted something more tangible than a heaven from which he was separated by an eternity of effort. Thus Buddhism received its first Japanese modification. A sect arose,[1] preaching that beatitude meant knowledge of the "Lotus Law;" that the attainment of that knowledge ensured immediate entry into Buddhahood, and that the ancient deities whom Japan worshipped were but manifestations of the Buddha. Such adaptations quickly won for Buddhism a strong title to popular regard. It ceased to be an alien creed and became a liberal expansion of the indigenous faith.[2] It secured to the patrician his old privileges while extending them to the plebeian.

But there remained in this new conception two deterrent elements. To reach the knowledge which opened the gate to salvation, it was essential that the disciple should free himself from worldly concerns and influences, should stand aloof from work-a-day existence, should banish all sense of the beautiful, and should become absorbed in meditating on absolute truth.[3] Such a programme repelled the average Japanese. He found it admirable to worship the Buddha of "infinite light and life," and comfortable to think that the state of blessedness might be at-

[1] See Appendix, note 42.
[2] See Appendix, note 43.
[3] See Appendix, note 44.

tained by the work of a single life-span. He readily adjusted his feet to the first three steps of progress, — obedience to the precepts of morality, regulation of food and clothing, and the choice of a suitable house, — but when he came to the fourth, when he had to accept the necessity of turning his back on the busy world and harmonising his faculties to a meditative career, the demand overtaxed his dolicity. Besides, the "Lotus Law" dealt in mysteries beyond comprehension. Its teachings lapsed into a vagueness, its doctrines extended to a comprehensiveness, that bewildered common intelligence. Soon a new system was elaborated. The omnipresent spirit of truth became the centre of the "diamond world" of noumena and the source of organic life in the world of phenomena. To reach to the realisation of the truth two ladders were revealed, an intellectual and a moral, — two canons, each of ten precepts, easy to comprehend and not deterrently difficult to practise. At the head of all virtues stood a charity to which the Christian apostle's celebrated definition might aptly have been applied. The scope of this preeminent virtue was described with minutely practical accuracy. It included the digging of wells, the building of bridges, the making of roads, the maintenance of one's parents, the support of the church, the nursing of the sick, the succouring of the poor, and the duty of recommending these same acts to others. There were

further noble precepts, and there was also an elaborate system of daily worship and prayer. All idea of abstention from the affairs of every-day life disappeared, and the hereafter became, not a state of absolute non-existence (*nirvana*), but the "infinite perception of a beatific vision;" a condition in which each of the saved formed one of a band of great intercessors, pleading continually for their ignorant and struggling brethren upon earth that they might attain to the same heights of perfect enlightenment and bliss.[1]

This is the *Shingon* Sect, the sect of the "True Word," the sect of the *Logos*, founded in 816 A.D. by one of the greatest of Japanese religious teachers, Kōbō Daishi. So far as it has been here set down, its outlines might easily be adapted to a partial picture of Christianity. There is a great presiding spirit; there is an ethical system that the followers of the Nazarene might endorse; there is a band of interceding saints in heaven; there is an eternity of happiness; there is an everlasting law of retribution, every infraction of the moral code entailing a commensurate penalty; there are incarnations of the supreme being — not one incarnation, indeed, but several — whose mission is to lead men to the knowledge of the truth. But if such affinities with Christianity exist, so also do differences. There is a belief in previous existences and in their

[1] See Appendix, note 45.

unknown sins, by which the devotee is kept entangled in the cycle of life and death; there is prayer to the gods of the country, the *Shintō* deities; and there is worship of ancestors, in a modified form indeed, but still worship.

With this development of Buddhism the Japanese may be said to have remained content for three hundred and sixty years. Then, in the presence of perpetual wars, spoliations, and miseries, the creed took another shape, a shape that reflected the conditions of the time. Salvation by faith was preached. The world had fallen upon such evil days that a cry of despair went up to Amida, the Buddha of endless life and light. Men were taught that works could not avail, and that in blind trust, aided by the repetition of ceaseless formulæ, lay the only hope of salvation. Such was the doctrine of the Sect of the Pure Land (*Jōdo*), founded by Honen Shonin (1174 A.D.). It attracted numerous disciples. The comforting tenet that by simple trust in Amida during life admittance to his paradise might be secured after death perfectly suited the dejected mood of the age, and would, indeed, suit the mood of men in all ages antecedent to the millennium.[1]

Fifty years later, another sect was born, a child of the "Pure Land," namely, the Spirit Sect.[2] The latter did not supplant the former, but rather supplemented it. In this new system love was

[1] See Appendix, note 46.

[2] See Appendix, note 47.

added to trust. Grateful remembrance of the mercies of Amida, and faith in his willingness and power to save, now sufficed to secure salvation and to keep the devotee's feet in the true path. There were other differences also. The disciple learned, not that Amida waited until the hour of a man's death to conduct him to paradise, but that the coming of the saviour was present and immediate; that he took up his abode at once, even during life, in the heart of the saved. The doctrine, essential to all forms of Buddhism, remained, — the doctrine that misfortune in this world has its root in some evil wrought in a previous state of existence, — but it received the adjunct that neither Amida nor any other Buddha might be invoked to interrupt the natural sequence of cause and effect, and, as a logical corollary, amulets, spells, and all such aids were interdicted. The devotee was no longer invited to become a priest, — to abandon his home and embrace celibacy. All in every rank and of every calling were entitled to entertain an equal hope of salvation. The priests themselves ceased to observe some of the vetoes that chiefly distinguished them from laymen. They married, ate meat, and, if desirable, replaced the stole by the surcoat. They learned in the domestic circle those sympathies and appreciations that a celibate can never develop.

This "Spirit Sect" is the largest in Japan. With its parent, the "Pure Land Sect," it pos-

sesses more than one-half of all the temples in the country.[1] It is full of vitality. Its doctrines as to the origin of the world, the sphere of providential functions, original sin, the efficacy of prayer, the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, do not so greatly shock ordinary intelligence, or make such large demands on unreasoning credulity, as do the corresponding tenets preached from Western pulpits.[2]

Among the last sects calling for notice here is one that has attracted considerable observation among Occidental students of Japanese Buddhism. It is the sect of the "Flower of the Law" (*Hokke-shu*), founded (1253 A.D.) by Nichiren (the Lotus of Light), one of the noblest and most picturesque figures among Japanese "saints." The essential difference between the creed of Nichiren and the creeds of all his predecessors is that he preached a god, the prime and only great cause. They showed to their disciples a chain of cause and effect, but had nothing to say about its origin; he taught that the first link in the chain was the Buddha of original enlightenment, of whom all subsequent Buddhas, Sakyamuni and the rest, were only transient reflections. Nichiren thus reached the Christian conception of a god in whom everything lives, moves, and has its being; an omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient deity. All phenomena, mental and material, in all time and space, were declared by him to

[1] See Appendix, note 48. [2] See Appendix, note 49.

have only subjective existence in the consciousness of the individual. The differences and distinctions observed by the ordinary man were imaginary and misleading; had no foundation in fact. In the eyes of the Buddha there was identity where the vulgar saw variety. To know the underlying sameness of all things; to understand the oneness of the perceiver and the perceived, — that was true wisdom. It followed that this world, so full of evils to mortal vision, did not differ from paradise in the Buddha's sight. To the enlightened all worlds were equally beautiful. "Hence, to proclaim the identity of this evil or phenomenal world with the glorious underlying reality, or noumenon; to point out the way to Buddhahood; to open the path of salvation; above all, to convince the people that one and all of them might become Buddhas, here and now, — that was the mission of the sect of Nichiren."[1]

The tenets of the sects thus far described may be said to represent the forms in which Buddhism appealed to the masses. Such doctrines did not find much vogue among the military class. The favourite creed of the latter was embodied in the dogmas of the *Zen* Sect, which, whether as a curious coincidence or as an outcome of the tendency of the time, had its origin in the thirteenth century and was therefore coeval with the establishment of military feudalism.

[1] See Appendix, note 50.

Having been instructed in the general problems of life and of salvation, and enlightened about the doctrine of Karma, the *Zen* disciple was taught the duty of confession, because when a man acknowledges his sins he may be said to have put them away from him. Then followed the process of contemplation (*zazen*), which was the chief characteristic of the sect. Its successful practice demanded a mood like that of the ascetic, who by sheer force of will subjects all his passions and emotions to the unique purpose of entering into the perfection of religious faith. Partly because such mental training helped to educate inflexibility of resolution, essential to a soldier, and partly because, by carrying the disciple entirely beyond himself and his surroundings, it rendered him indifferent to death or danger, the *Zen* Sect won many followers among the *Samurai*. This subject, having already been explained in connection with the *Bushido*, need not be elaborated here, for the interest of the *Zen* Sect centres on the part it took in developing the Japanese military type.

Thus the colours that Buddhism took in its transmission through the Japanese mind were all bright hues. Death ceased to be a passage to mere non-existence and became the entrance to actual beatitude. The ascetic selfishness of the contemplative disciple was exchanged for a career of active charity. The endless chain of cause and effect was shortened to a single link. The con-

ception of one supreme, all-merciful being forced itself into prominence. The gulf of social and political distinctions that yawned so widely between the patrician and the plebeian, and all the other unsightlinesses of the world, became subjective *eidola* destined to disappear at the first touch of moral light. The Buddha and the people were identified.

Religion does not overshadow the daily life of the Japanese. The gloomy fanatic is unknown. Confession of sins, repentance in sackcloth and ashes, solemn and protracted acts of worship, the terrors of an eternity of torture, — these things enter scarcely at all into the layman's existence. The temple presents itself to him as a place where the mortuary tablets of his ancestors are guarded; a place to be visited for the burning of incense at tombs and their adornment with flowers on anniversaries of the deaths of near relatives; a place for the occasional deposit of small coins in an alms-chest; a place for offering up brief prayer when every-day affairs seem in need of the Buddha's divine influence; a place where the ashes of the worshipper himself will in the end be laid to rest, and whither his own friends and relatives will come to honour his memory when he too shall have received from the priests one of those beautiful and benevolent posthumous titles which they know so well how to choose. It is all essentially practical and easy-going. If a man needs moral guidance, he goes to the temple and listens to

a sermon. On set days, sometimes every day, one of the priests preaches. He kneels before a small lectern on a dais raised a little above the wide area of the matted nave, and talks to the people sitting around him on the floor. His sermon is generally of the simplest. It deals with the affairs of common life; with the small cares of Osandon, the maid of all work; with the troubles of Detchi, the shop-boy; with the woes of O-yuki, the danseuse, and with the perplexities of Tarobei, the rustic. Great ceremonies of worship may also be attended, but with these the ordinary individual has no intellectual sympathy. They are to him merely spectacular effects; solemn, splendid, and impressive, but incomprehensible. If the devout watches them with awed mien, the little belles of the parish are guilty of no irreverence when they patter up the steps leading to the lofty hall of worship, peep in smilingly at the tonsured chaunters of litanies and reciters of *sutras*, and patter away again with just such faces of sunny unconcern as they might wear on their way home from a dancing-lesson. Buddhism, Japanese Buddhism, can never produce a Puritan or a Covenanter. It weaves no threads of solemnity or sanctimoniousness into the pattern of every-day life. Its worlds of hungry demons and infernal beings are too unsubstantial, too remote, to throw any lurid glare over the present. The festival, indeed, may be called the popular form of worship in Japan — such a festival as can be seen at the

Ikegami temple,[1] on the anniversary of Nichiren, whose doctrine of the Flower of the Law has been outlined above. It is a species of gala for the huge multitude — numbering some two hundred thousand — that throng thither during the two days of the fête. If the tiny band of devout folks that listen to the sermon be compared with the gay crowds that roam about the beautiful woods, enjoy the enchanting landscapes and seascapes presenting themselves on every side, and frequent the various entertainments provided for their diversion by itinerant showmen, the ratio of holiness to holiday becomes very suggestive. It may be difficult for the reader to imagine the precincts of a Christian cathedral on a saint's day occupied by acrobats, jugglers, travelling menageries, performing dogs, and such frivolities, while the business of prayer and preaching proceeds vigorously within the walls of the building. Yet such a conception of the Japanese scene is only partial: it must be supplemented by another strange feature, namely, that the temple-building stands open throughout the whole of one side, so that the people who happen to be praying within are virtually a part of the audience enjoying the penny-shows without. Here, as everywhere in Japan, the practical sincerity of the national character shows itself. Even at a religious festival, no effort to dissimulate the traits of which humanity can never divest itself is encouraged

[1] See Appendix, note 51.

or expected. The great majority of the people come for the sake of the outing as much as to pay respect to the memory of the saint. Let them, then, enjoy themselves. Religion does not prescribe austerity of manners or asceticism of life. The Buddhas are not shocked because a monkey turns summersaults under the eaves of their sanctuaries, or a rope-dancer balances in the shadow of their shrines. In this very rope-dancer, too, the observer may see another instance of the spirit of sincerity that presides at the festival. In Europe a female gymnast dresses in flesh-coloured tights and seeks to place her womanhood in suggestive evidence. The Japanese girl at the Ikegami fête has no such fancy. Her business is rope-dancing, not meretricious posing. The latter may be very well in its way, but has nothing to do with the poising of one's body on some strands of plaited hemp. Therefore the Ikegami girl, who undertakes to exhibit skill in the science of equilibrium, wears garments which, while they are excellently suited to the purposes of her performance, are even better qualified to divert attention from the sex of the performer. There, too, in another part of the spacious grounds, a party of priests may be seen watching the manœuvres of some highly trained birds. They are jaunty, saucy little chaffinches as ever exhibited themselves in public; and to see them skip out of their cages, bow to their trainer and to the audience, ring bells, count coins, pound rice, and

do the woodpecker business against every convenient post, is to conceive a new respect for bird intelligence. So the praying goes on, and the rattling of *cash* against the bars of the money-chest, and the burning of incense, and the chattering of monkeys, and the shouting of showmen, and the perpetual rippling of laughter and the babble of cheery talk, as the great, good-humoured multitude flows to and fro, not a bit nearer to hell or farther from heaven because its units have studied no hypocritical mien of sanctimoniousness, nor been trained to deceive their deity by putting a veneer of puritanism over the instincts which he has implanted in their breasts.

But, in such a crowd, what proportion does the literate element bear to the illiterate, the patrician to the plebeian? And if the philosopher is there as well as the bumpkin, the savant as well as the servant, how much of pastime is the motive of each and how much of worship? That is a great question. It amounts to asking what has been the influence of Buddhism upon the educated classes in Japan. Undoubtedly that influence was once very powerful. Undoubtedly the religion possessed, at the time of its advent, numerous features strongly attractive. It brought in its company a noble literature, a literature pregnant with philosophic thought presented to the mind in attractive guise, a literature embodying everything that was profound and beautiful in Oriental speculation. It built for itself temples

the grandeur of whose architectural proportions and the gorgeousness of whose decoration surpassed Japanese conception. Its priests manifested a spirit of activity, benevolence, and self-denial that could not but impress a nation entirely strange to the spectacle of religious zeal. It found a people devoting themselves to the study of Chinese literature with all the fervour that marks their descendants' excursions into the domain of Western learning, and it presented to them a library of books within whose ideographic pages was enshrined a mine of speculative thought, a mass of obscure, intricate, subtle metaphysical suggestions that derived a semblance of profundity from their very strangeness, of magnificence from the ignorance of their students. The minute mechanism of the new system constituted an additional attraction. It carried men from the simplest and vaguest of creeds to the most complex and definite; from a faith without ethical code or canons of dogma to a faith extraordinarily rich in both. If there is, as we know there is, a tendency in the human mind to pass from one extreme to another, it is easy to understand how gladly the feet of many turned from wandering in the trackless deserts of *Shintō* to march in the beaten paths and along the carefully graded highways of Buddhism. Further, the monasteries were the chief seats of learning. Proficiency in Buddhism was synonymous with proficiency in the Chinese language; with posses-

sion of the key to all the stores of the Middle Kingdom's learning. Yet, when we come to ask whether from this array of secular and religious arguments the conclusion may be derived that the supernatural phases of Buddhism impressed themselves upon the hearts of the educated classes, the answer must be negative. It is hard, indeed, to imagine a total lack of that kind of faith among men who in mediæval times contributed vast sums to support or endow temples, made them the depositories of their ancestral tablets, and repaired thither at set seasons to hear orisons chaunted, *sutras* read, and sermons preached. But still more difficult is it to conceive that, had the transcendental doctrines of Buddhism sunk deep into the national mind, some evidence of the fact would not have been furnished in the growth of a philosophical literature, the product of lay pens. There is practically no such literature. On the contrary, there are plain indications that the supernatural beliefs of Buddhist teachers gradually became the object of open or covert ridicule among the learned, and were ultimately relegated to much the same place in the minds of educated men as ghost stories occupy in European or American thought to-day. In short, religion, as distinguished from morality, came to be quietly ignored. Nothing survived beyond an instinctive belief in the immortality of the soul, and a traditional faith in a future world peopled by the shades of parents and relatives loved in life and

reverenced after death. Much of the vogue so speedily attained and so steadily retained by Confucianism is doubtless due to the subordinate place assigned to supernatural religion in that system. Confucianism, too, owing to the note of feudalism that sounds through its philosophy, has been found to be more or less out of harmony with the spirit of Occidental civilisation, and is destined, in its turn, to pass into the oblivion where so many Oriental systems lie buried. But through fourteen centuries it worked steadily and powerfully to turn the mind of educated Japan from transcendental subtleties and religious mysticism to a conviction that the only true and rational creed is one which subjects the human faculties to no excessive strain, nor asks men to accept, on the alleged authority of supernatural revelation, propositions lying wholly beyond the range of mortal intelligence. Buddhism, in the comparatively bright and comfortable garments with which Japanese genius clothed it, is the faith of the masses, but the scholar proposes to himself a simpler creed, an essentially work-a-day system of ethics. To be moral, honest, and upright; to be guided by reason and not by passion; to be faithful to friends and benefactors; to abstain from meanness and selfishness in all forms; to be prepared to sacrifice everything to country and king,—that is the ideal of the cultured mind, and in the pursuit of it no priestly guidance is considered necessary. If a Japanese be asked to

define the much-talked-of *Yamato damashii*, — the spirit of Yamato, — he will do so in the words set down here.

As to the masses, the farmer, the artisan, the shopkeeper, and the proletariat, though it may be said that Buddhism is their creed, it must also be said that at sacred service as well as at festival time they do not take their faith very seriously. A visitor to a temple on the day of the *sekkyo*, the day of the sermon, which has been duly advertised on a species of sign-board at the entrance of the enclosure, cannot fail to note that nine-tenths of the congregation are white-haired, the remainder consisting of children with a sparse admixture of adults. Hodge may be there, driven by the dread that some unsettled account stands between him and the heaven which ought to have averted the typhoon from his rice-field or the insect plague from his mulberry plantation; and little O-setsu may be there, who last evening sat beside her brazier, her dimples banished and her sweet head bowed as she mused over the *ingwa*, the indissoluble chain of causation, that had linked her to love troubles and a throbbing heart. But these are the exceptions. Generally the worshipper carries with him wrinkles and snowy locks, and a hope that since the affairs of the "fleeting world" have become to him as "dust before the wind," he may by pious practices acquire a vested interest in the affairs of the world to come. He can follow the sermon. It

is plain, simple, adapted to the lowest order of intelligence, the even flow of its gentle precepts unimpeded by any rocks of erudition nor deepening to any profundities of transcendental philosophy. The old folks listen with comfortable reverence, and at each pause in the preacher's eloquence — eloquence sometimes of the highest order — bow their heads, roll their rosaries between their palms, devoutly murmur *Namu Hōren-ge-Kyō*, or whatever formula the sect prescribes, and then throw into the alms-chest an offering of *cash*. The parabled mite of the widow was a farthing. The *cash* of Japan is the fortieth part of a penny, and a worshipper that launches four of these lilliputian coins into the great chest has done his duty nobly. No one talks of these copper tokens as *saisen*. They are *o-saisen*. The honorific prefix belongs to them just as fully as it does to the lordly vases of silver and gold lotus that flank the altar; to the resplendent altar itself with its broad face of rosy lacquer, its richly chased and heavily gilded mountings, its furniture of fine bronze and ancient *céladon;* or to the magnificent shrine that glows with mellowed splendour in the sacred obscurity of the chancel. But beyond the sermon, beyond the throwing of *o-saisen*, and the rolling of beads, what does the worshipper understand? Nothing. The *sutra* is there; the lotus law, engrossed in exquisite ideographs upon an illuminated scroll. But its texts are unintelligible. To the average Japanese they

convey as little as a verse from the original Koran would convey to a cowboy. They are part of the magnificent unknown. The priest is the repository of whatever blessed knowledge they embody, the transmitter of their divine message to mankind. And the priest himself understands how to lend spectacular effect to that part of his office. When he seats himself among his congregation to preach, he wears the simplest of robes, a white or sober-hued cassock and a black stole. But when he opens the *sutras* or recites the litany, his vestments are of brocade that would serve worthily to drape a throne, and might well betray the female units of his congregation into the sin of "lust of the eye" were not the precaution adopted of cutting the splendid fabric into a multitude of fragments before fashioning it into stole or cassock. Patchwork quilts are not used in Japan, and a girdle chequered with seams after the fashion of a chess-board would be a shocking solecism. So the house-wife and the belle are enabled to admire these grand brocades without coveting them.

The religious service is strikingly different from the sermon: the latter a practical, plainly phrased adaptation of saving ethics to every-day affairs; the former, a mysterious, impressive, and enigmatical display, as far removed from mundane affinities as is the lotus throne itself. At one of the great temples, in a hall of worship fifty feet high, four times as many long and three

times as many broad, these services may be seen by all comers. The huge hall is absolutely without decoration, except in one spot where stand the shrine and the altar, a mass of glowing gold and rich colours, mellowed by wide spaces on either side to which the daylight scarcely penetrates. Within a circular enclosure at the outer end of the nave sit a band of acolytes, chaunting to an accompaniment of wooden timbrels. Their voices are pitched in octaves, and the number of chaunters is varied from time to time so as to break the monotony of the cadence. When this has continued for some moments, nine priests, richly robed, emerge slowly and solemnly from the back of the chancel, and kneel before an equal number of lecterns ranged in line on the left of the altar. Each priest carries a chaplet of beads, and on each lectern is a missal. Then the chaunt of the acolytes ceases, and the priest in the middle of the line opens the *sutra* and reads aloud. One by one his companions follow his example, until the nine voices blend in a monotone, which, in turn, is varied by the same device as that previously adopted by the acolytes. After an interval, another similar band pace gravely down the chancel, and kneeling on the right of the altar, opposite the first comers, add their voices, in the same cumulative fashion, to the varying volume of sound. Finally, the chief priest himself emerges, attended by an acolyte, and kneels, facing the altar, at a large lectern

placed between the two rows of *sutra*-readers. He confines himself at first to burning incense, and, as the fumes ascend denser and denser, the intonation of the reading priests grows more and more accelerated, until at last their words pour forth with bewildering volubility. Then suddenly this peal of resonance dies away to a scarcely audible murmur, and while its echoes are still trembling in the air, they are joined by the voice of the chief priest, which by degrees absorbs them into its swelling note, and then itself faints to a whisper, taken up in turn and swelled to a rolling chaunt by the tones of the *sutra*-readers. These alternations of intoning constitute virtually the whole ceremony. It is grave, awe-inspiring, and massive in its simplicity. It captivates the senses by degrees, and lifts them at last to an ecstasy where reason ceases to discern that the components of the grand ceremony are nothing more than deftly interwoven fragments of a chaunted litany, gorgeous vestments, a heart of glowing gold and soft colours in a vast sepulchre of shadow, and an edifice of noble proportions. But that analytical consciousness certainly comes to the average layman sooner or later. That he has reached it is plainly shown by his mien. The sketchy act of worship that he uses as a passport to such ceremonials bears as little proportion to their magnificence as does the fee paid at the door of a theatre to the tumultuous moods of mirth or sadness produced

by the spectacle within. Nothing in which the mechanical element predominates can be permanently interesting. The Buddhist services appeal only to a narrow range of emotions and leave the intellect untouched. The adult Japanese takes little interest in them. To be a frequent temple-goer out of season — that is to say, on occasions other than those dictated by reverence to the memory of a deceased relative or friend — is to be regarded by one's neighbours as uncanny, unpractical, and probably unfortunate.

The priest himself contributes little, either by intellectual culture or a life of conspicuous zeal and virtue, to raise his religion to a place in the people's hearts. He used to be the nation's schoolmaster as well as its scholar. The State has stepped in and relieved him of the former function; the latter title he has long lost. The example he sets is one of indolence. Now and then, in the perfunctory routine of colourless duty, he has to intone a litany that has been ringing in his ears since childhood, and always his figure looms on the horizon of the layman's life when incense has to be burned and prayer said for the soul of the departed. But, for the rest, he is without occupation. He is not to be found waiting with words of comfort at the bedside of the dying, or with hands of helpfulness in the hovels of the poor. Once only, at the great *Bon* festival, when the spirits of the dead revisit the homes of the living, the priest finds

himself busied with ministrations. But it is an interval of only four days, and the work is lightened by its large reward, for during that brief space the major part of the year's income is collected.

The advent of Christianity has galvanised Buddhism into new life. The Western missionary came to uproot the lotus plant. His attack has resulted in making the sap circulate once more through its withered limbs. There is a sort of Buddhist revival. Schools have been established by each sect for the education of its priests; propagandists are sent out; periodicals are published. Buddhism is not dead. It is not even moribund. In the spring of 1895 the disciples of the *Monto* Sect assembled in Kyōtō to open a temple on the construction of which eight million *yen* had been spent, and in the transport of whose huge timbers cables made of women's hair had been used. Hundreds of thousands of believers had contributed money and material for the building; hundreds of thousands of women and girls had shorn off their tresses to weave these ropes. There is abundant life in the faith still.

With regard to the relations between religion and the State in Japan, it may be said that, up to the beginning of the ninth century, *Shintō* was the only officially recognised religion, though Buddhism enjoyed so much favour. A special department (*Shingi-kan*) of *Shintō* ceremonies

managed all matters connected with worship, and stood at the head of the public offices. From the establishment of the capital at Kyōtō, however, the influence of Buddhism began to be felt, not in open opposition, but rather as an overshadowing and absorbing system, which, by appropriating the chief traditional features of its rival, gradually deprived the latter of individuality and therefore of power. Still the imported faith remained long without State recognition. Its priesthood, though growing in wealth and number, and practically autocratic within the domain of religious affairs, enjoyed no official exemptions or privileges. Their hierarchs were appointed without reference to the secular authorities, and were not included in the roll of official grades. Under the Tokugawa Government a change took place. Following the example of their great predecessor, Iyeyasu, the *Shōguns* ruling in Yedo spared no pains to cement their relations with Buddhism by extending to it ample patronage and support. Yet, even while striking monuments of that munificence grew up in the splendid mausolea at Shiba, Uyeno, and Nikko, the political status of the creed might have remained unaltered had not the advent of Christianity and the Government's crusade against it led the third *Shōgun*, Iyemitsu, to conceive the necessity of establishing a certain measure of State control over religious affairs. Regulations were then (early in the seventeenth century) issued

that no priest should be promoted unless he had given evidence of erudition by passing an examination and unless he had led a life consistent with the tenets he taught. Further, in order to qualify for establishing a new or an independent temple, a priest must have devoted at least thirty years to investigation of the doctrine he undertook to propagate, and twenty years' study was declared an essential preliminary to public preaching, which also was forbidden to a priest if his conduct showed any lapse from strict morality. A novice had to be of approved ability and aptitude; no man might remain in a monastery unless he spent his time in study and strictly observed the moral law; a branch temple was required under all circumstances to obey the instructions of its principal temple; disputes among priests must be referred to the head of the sect, and might thereafter be carried to Yedo on appeal; radical changes in the denomination of a sect were forbidden, and though an abbot might pass over to a different sect, it was illegal for him to transfer his whole congregation without the sanction of his feudal chief or of the Yedo authorities, — a veto sufficient in itself to prove how little importance the people attached to sectarian questions. Buddhism further became at that epoch an openly recognised instrument in the State's campaign against Christianity. To be borne on a temple register was considered necessary evidence of non-adherence to the alien creed.

The sect to which a man belonged, the regularity of his visits to a place of worship, the amount of his contributions for religious purposes, his observance of periodical rites, his habits as to keeping an image of Buddha in his house and praying before it morning and evening, — concerning all these things the priests were expected to furnish information, and they thus acquired a distinctly official status in the eyes of the nation. Otherwise, however, the State exercised little control, the priesthood retaining competence to elect their own prelates, enforce their own canons, and administer their own affairs. Only when propagandism was associated with grossly mischievous practices did the law interfere. Thus, at the close of the eighteenth century, a branch of the Spirit Sect fell under the displeasure of the authorities for constructing an edifice where long fasting and prayers, supposed to be rewarded by a personal manifestation of the Buddha, were carried to such fanatical excess that several people lost their reason and even their lives. Another strange abuse occurred, about the same time, at a temple in Yamato, where the priests claimed power to procure for the faithful a painless admission to Nirvana. They made good their promise by placing the victim in a coffin and killing him with spear-thrusts delivered secretly from beneath during a loud clamour of chaunting and prayer. This tragedy ultimately assumed a more refined form. In lieu of a coffin the priests

prepared a bronze vessel shaped like a lotus-flower, and the worshipper having been laid within the petals of this emblem of paradise, his body was pierced by concealed blades. Such extreme abuses were rare; but in general, despite the rules spoken of above, the priests, corrupted by prosperity, sank into a state of ignorance and self-indulgence during the Tokugawa epoch, violating the austere tenets of their faith and breaking their vows of celibacy. The tests of erudition prescribed by law as a preface to promotion lost all practical value. High office was purchased with money rather than earned by merit. Prayers and ceremonials were sold. If a priest won renown by zeal and devotion, a crowd of sordid followers attached themselves to him, perverting his fame into an instrument of gain. Abbots bought the privilege of calling their temple the repository of some nobleman's mortuary tablet in order that they might blazon his crest on the furniture and curtains of the chancel. Many priests of noble character, profound piety, and wide erudition still upheld the best traditions of the creed, but the general moral level of the Buddhist clergy fell to an exceedingly low point.

It does not appear, however, that these priestly abuses brought popular discredit on the faith. The middle and lower classes remained unshaken in their belief. In almost every household an image of Buddha stood enshrined, and at morn

and eve prayers and the fumes of incense ascended thence to heaven, while, in addition to these acts of daily worship, there were unfailing visits to temples to tell rosaries and place flowers in memory of the dead, and there were pilgrimages to the thirty-three shrines of Kwannon, to the twenty-four sanctuaries of the Spirit Sect, the twenty-five of the Pure Land, the eighty-eight of Daishi, to those of the Seven Deities in spring and of the six Amidas in autumn, to the six Jizō at all times, or to the twelve Yakushi, or the thirty Benzaiten, or the twenty-one temples of Nichiren, or the thousand sacred places of the central provinces. In short, Buddhism with its fêtes, its festivals, its ceremonials, its duties to the dead, its pilgrimages, its sermons, and its registers, occupied as large a place in the daily life of the Japanese middle and lower orders as Christianity has ever occupied in the life of any Western nation, though the former never exercised the same emotional influence as the latter, nor ever furnished an equally potent code of practical ethics.

It must be repeated, however, that *Shintō*, the ancient faith of the land, retained its place side by side with Buddhism. If in every district a temple stood for the worship of Buddha, there stood also a shrine for supplications to the guardian deity (*Ujigami*), and if each household had a Buddhist image, it had also a *Shintō* altar. From the Nara epoch when, as already stated, the Buddhist prop-

agandists grafted the indigenous faith upon the imported by recognising the *Shintō* deities to be incarnations of Buddha, the two creeds became a duality (*riyobu Shintō*), and the Japanese nation presented the unique spectacle of a people paying homage to two systems of religion simultaneously. Not until the fifteenth century was any serious attempt made to separate them again. Yoshida Shingu (1489–1492) then sought to popularise a cult which he called "pure *Shintō*," but which was in reality indebted for many of its doctrines and ceremonies to the *Tendai* Sect of Buddhism. Ritualism was the distinguishing feature of this form of *Shintō*. In the seventeenth century three scholars — Hagiwara Kanetomo, Ideguchi Yenka, and Yamasaki Ansai — promoted another renaissance. Their doctrine, when carefully analysed, is found to have been an attempt to refer the origin of Japanese theology to the philosophy of China, the philosophy of the male and female principles. The effect of this importation of Chinese theories into the ancient faith of Japan was to call into existence a school of thinkers, culminating in the eighteenth century with Mabuchi, Motoori, and Hirata, who endeavoured to purge *Shintō* from Buddhist and Confucian elements alike and to reëstablish its connection with the beginnings of Japanese history. This last revival, being based on the century's oldest annals and associated with its most revered traditions, differed from that of

Yoshida in that it dispensed with rituals and ceremonials, and from that of Yamasaki in that it totally eschewed the doctrine of the *Yang* and the *Ying*. It appealed essentially to the erudite section of the nation, whereas to the eyes of the illiterate it presented a cold, emotionless aspect, supplying neither a formula of worship nor a doctrine that could be connected with the interests of daily life. From that point of view the *Shintō* of Yamasaki Ansai was preferable for the sake of its association with the Book of Changes, with divination, and with fortune-telling; and the *Shintō* of Yoshida, since it furnished for every disciple the mechanical refuge of a thousand-times-iterated prayer, and for the pilgrim a supplication to which he could attune his steps as he ascended and descended a sacred mountain.[1] Speaking broadly, *Shintō* holds its place with the masses for the sake of its superstitions and its polytheism. Originally, a distinction existed between the *Ubusuna-no-Kami*, or local deity, and the *Uji-gami*, or household deity. But this difference ultimately ceased to be considered, and daily devotions at the domestic shrine were addressed to whichever deity presided over the worshipper's sphere of occupation or interest. In some cases the attributes of the ancient deities had become confused, and even their names forgotten,[2] but men did not trouble themselves about such things so long as some tutelary power could

[1] See Appendix, note 52.

[2] See Appendix, note 53.

be invoked on every occasion and for every purpose. Perhaps the most intelligible way of differentiating the practical aspects of the two creeds is to say that the *Shintō* deities are invoked in connection with all the joys and successes of life; the Buddha is worshipped in connection with its sorrows and bereavements. No light is kindled nor any incense burned before the *Hotoke* at New Year's time or on other festive occasion, and when death or sickness visits a house, the *Shintō* altar, in turn, stands without worship.

It will readily be conceived that special rites have to be performed when petitions of great import are offered to heaven, — the *o-komori*, for example, which means twenty-one days of unceasing prayer within a shrine; the *kankōri*, or pouring ice-cold water over the naked body in midwinter; the *hadashi-mairi*, or barefooted worship; the *hiyakudo-mairi*, or hundred acts of devotion, and so on. But in general the pilgrimage is the greatest effort demanded of a *Shintō* or Buddhist believer.

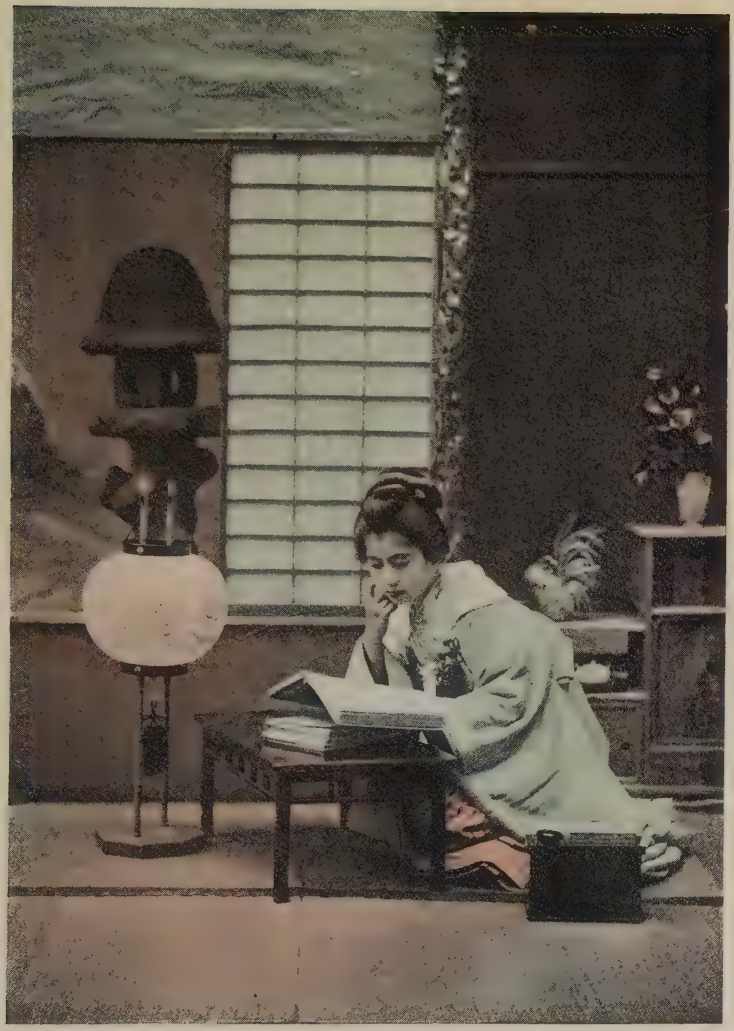
Neither religion can lay claim to State protection in modern times. The Tokugawa Government added to the body politic a new class of officials called *Jisha-bugyo*, whose duty was to administer the secular laws in all matters relating to religion, and who were chosen from among the most influential nobles in the Empire. The Church was thus removed beyond the pale of the ordinary tribunals, and brought under the pur-

view of the highest powers in the State. But the scholastic movement in the eighteenth century for the revival of pure *Shintō* assisted so materially to reëstablish the doctrine of the Throne's divinity, and thus to prepare the way for the Restoration in 1867, that the *Meiji* Government naturally identified itself with a creed of such political utility. The *Jisha-bugyo*, whose authority had extended to *Shintō* and Buddhism alike, were abolished, and in their stead was established the *Shingi-sho*, an office which ranked above all the State departments, and was practically a resuscitation of the *Shingi-kan* already mentioned. It is not to be doubted that the aim of the more radical reformers of the time was the ultimate suppression of Buddhism and the elevation of *Shintō* to the rank of a State church. For whereas the affairs of *Shintō* received direct superintendence from the new office, those of Buddhism ceased to be recognised by officialdom; the Buddhist temples were stripped of the greater part of their large estates, and since they necessarily lost at the same time the munificent patronage that had been extended to them by the feudal nobles, a season of decadence and impoverishment overtook them. But Buddhism had twined its roots too strongly round the hearts of the people to be overthrown by an official storm. Steadily it reasserted its influence, until, in 1872, the *Shingi-sho* was replaced by the *Kyobu-sho*, an office ranking lower than its predecessor, but still

very high in the administrative organisation. From this office the priests of the two religions received equal recognition, and the same official title (*kyōdō-shoku*). Thenceforth the Government's purpose of identifying the interests of Church and State gradually ceased to have practical force, until (in 1884) the ranks and titles of the priests were abolished; the various sects were declared perfectly free to choose their own superintendents and manage their own affairs, and in the administrative organisation there remained only an insignificant Bureau of Shrines and Temples (*Shaji-kyoku*) to deal with questions from which the secular authority could not prudently dissociate itself.[1] The last tie that bound the Church to the State was severed by the promulgation of the Constitution in 1889, the twenty-seventh article of which declares that, "within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, Japanese subjects shall enjoy freedom of religious belief."

Shintō, however, remains the unique creed of the Imperial House. Appended to the Constitution by which freedom of conscience was unequivocally granted to the people, were three documents,—a preamble, an Imperial oath in the Sanctuary of the Palace, and an Imperial speech,—every one of which contained words that left no doubt of the sovereign's rigid adherence to the

[1] See Appendix, note 54.



patriarchal faith of Japan. In the preamble His Majesty said: "Having, by virtue of the glories of our ancestors, ascended to the throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal; desiring to promote the welfare, and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of our subjects who have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of our ancestors, and hoping to maintain the prosperity of the State in concert with our people and with their support, we hereby promulgate," etc.; in the Imperial oath he said: "We, the successor to the prosperous throne of our predecessors, do humbly and solemnly swear to the Imperial founder of our house and to our Imperial ancestors that, in consonance with a great policy coextensive with the heavens and with the earth, we shall maintain and secure from decline the ancient form of government. . . . These laws (the Constitution) contain only an exposition of grand precepts for the conduct of the government, bequeathed by the Imperial founder of our house and by our other Imperial ancestors. That we have been so fortunate in our reign . . . as to accomplish this work, we owe to the glorious spirits of the Imperial founder of our house and of our other Imperial ancestors;" and in the Imperial speech he says: "The Imperial founder of our house and our other Imperial ancestors, by the help and support of the forefathers of our subjects, laid the foundation of our empire upon a

basis which is to last for ever. That this brilliant achievement embellishes the annals of our country, is due to the glorious virtues of our sacred Imperial ancestors and to the loyalty and bravery of our subjects, their love of country, and their public spirit." There is no ambiguity here, nor, indeed, any feebleness of language. The Mikado, looking back to the immortals as his progenitors, and persuaded that his dynasty and empire have their protection and the protection of the successive Mikados now enrolled in the ranks of the gods, believes that the past twenty-six centuries of his house's rule and his realm's integrity are an earnest of unbroken continuity awaiting both in the future. People in the Occident, who listen with the calm born of long custom while their monarchs proclaim themselves king or emperor "by the grace of God," and who join to the echoes of their triumphal pæans a prayer for the abiding contenance of the "Lord of Hosts," can scarcely claim an unqualified title to criticise the more comprehensive, though not more robust faith of the Emperor of Japan.

The various religious ceremonials observed at Court are all on the strict lines of orthodox *Shintō*. On the first day of the first month the *Shihō-hai* (four-quarter adoration) is celebrated. The Emperor worships the Sun Goddess, whose shrine is at Ise, as well as the celestial and terrestrial deities, and makes offerings before the Imperial cen-

otaphs, praying for the happiness of his people and the peace of his reign. On the third of the same month, the Imperial ancestors and the deities of heaven and earth are again worshipped, and petitions, now more particularly connected with the tranquillity and prosperity of the reign, are addressed to these supernatural guardians, in a ceremonial called the *Genshi-sai* (festival of the beginning); the significance being that the new year's work of administration commences with worship. On the eleventh of the second month the *Kigen-setsu* (memorial of the origin) is held, to commemorate the accession of the first mortal Emperor, Jimmu. On the seventeenth of the tenth month, the first rice of the year, and *sakê* brewed from it, are offered to the Sun Goddess, the ceremony being called *Kanname* (divine tasting). On the twenty-third of the eleventh month, a similar rite — the *Niiname* (new tasting) — is performed, the difference being that the first fruits are now offered to all the deities. The birthday of the Emperor himself is also celebrated, and four solemn mourning services are performed, one on the anniversary (thirtieth January) of the death of the late Emperor (Kōmei); the second on that (third April) of the death of the first Emperor (Jimmu); the third and fourth in memory of all the Imperial ancestors. These two last are called *Shunki-kōrei-sai* (worship of the Imperial spirits at the vernal equinox), and *Shiuki-kōrei-sai* (worship of the Imperial spirits at

the autumnal equinox), and take place on the spring and autumn equinoctial days, respectively. Ancestral worship thus constitutes a prominent feature of all the religious rites in the Palace.

No material differences distinguish the routine of these ceremonials: to know one is to know all. Within the Palace there is a large hall, — the *Kashiko-dokoro*, or a place of reverence, — constructed of milk-white, knotless timbers, carefully joined and smooth as mirrors but absolutely devoid of decoration. At one end stands a large shrine, also of snow-pure wood, with delicately chased mountains of silver gilt. It encloses a model of the sacred mirror, representing the great ancestress, the Sun Goddess. Flanking it are two smaller shrines, one dedicated to all the Imperial ancestors since Jimmu, the other to the remaining deities of the *Shintō* pantheon. Before each shrine stands a censer. The floor is covered with rice-straw mats having borders of white damask, and within the folding doors of the shrines hang curtains woven out of bamboo threads. At the appointed hour — generally the grey of morning — *sakaki*[1] boughs are laid beside the shrines, and provision of incense (*shinko*) is made; after which the officials of the Bureau of Rites and those of the Imperial Household file in and seat themselves on either side of the hall. The doors of the shrines are then opened, and offerings of various kinds — vegetables, fish, cloth, and so

[1] See Appendix, note 55.

forth — are carried in and ranged before them, solemn music in Japanese style being performed the while. Thereafter the princes of the blood and all officials of the two highest ranks (*shinnin* and *chokunin*), as well as the peers of the "musk chamber" (*Jakō-no-ma*) and the "golden-pheasant chamber" (*Kinkei-no-ma*), enter, and when they are seated, the Emperor himself appears, and proceeding slowly to the shrines, bows his head, takes a branch of *sakaki* with pendent *go-hei*, and having waved it in token of the purification of sins, ignites sticks of incense and places one upright in each censer, thereafter repeating a ritual (*noto*). So long as the Emperor is present in the hall, all the officials remain standing. His Majesty then retires, and, on his departure, worship of the same kind, but without any prayer, is performed by a representative of the Prince Imperial, by the princes of the blood, and by the various officials, each in due order of rank. Finally, the offerings are removed, the shrines are closed to accompaniment of music, as before, and all retire. An interval of a few minutes succeeds, and then once more the officials of the Household Department resume their seats, preparatory to worship by the Empress Dowager and the Empress. The routine and rites are exactly as before, but the official worshippers are different. They now include nobles of all orders, officials of the two inferior grades (*sonin* and *hannin*), *Shintō* and Buddhist superintendents, and the chief priests of the *Monto*

Sect. The ceremony, owing to the numbers that take part in it and the unvaried solemnity of their procedure, occupies a long time, but is of the simplest character.

It is significant that the chief representatives of Buddhism join in these acts of *Shintō* worship; but since, as already shown, the apostles of Buddhism in Japan combined their creed with the indigenous faith by declaring, in the eighth century, that the Buddha of Light (*Dainichi Nyorai*, the Indian *Birushanabutsu*) had been incarnated as Amaterasu in Japan, as Saka-muni in India, and as Confucius in China, Buddhist hierarchs of modern times merely obey the tenets of their religion when they bow before the *Shintō* shrine in the Hall of Reverence. Christianity, however, has made no such adaptation. Yet among the body of officials who meet in the *Kashikodokoro* there must be many Christians. It would be possible for these men to absent themselves on the ground of sickness. In no country does a conventional excuse receive more generous recognition than in Japan. The plea of "indisposition" is accepted without scrutiny, and is understood to be serviceable as an explanation no less than as a reason. But if officials that profess Christianity and attend Christian places of worship made a habit of standing aloof, on whatever plea, from the services conducted by the Emperor in honour of the Sun Goddess and the spirits of the Imperial ancestors, there cannot be any doubt

about the impression that such differentiation must ultimately produce upon the mind of the nation. In point of fact Christians do not stand aloof. They bow their heads and burn incense before the shrines in company with the disciples of Shaka and of *Shintō*. How much violence they do to their own religious convictions in thus acting, how much homage they pay to the god of expediency, need not be inquired. "Men can be strangled with a strand of soft silk," says a Japanese proverb. The impalpable essence of Japanese patriotism takes the place of the soft strand in this instance. The divine origin of the Emperor, the unbroken line of his descent from the immortals, the guardianship that his deified ancestors extended to the realm and its people, — these are essential bases of Japanese patriotism. It is a passionate patriotism, a fierce patriotism, overlaid from time to time in the past by ashes of disloyal ambition or domestic dissension, but now fanned into strong flame by the wind of Western masterfulness and intolerance. Whether any Japanese subject could openly dissociate himself from the tenets of this national cult — for patriotism in modern Japan is nothing less than a national cult — and could yet lead a pleasant, peaceful existence, is at least problematical. At any rate, there has been no evident tendency towards dissociation. Some compromise seems to have been effected between conscience and convention. It must be added, also, that worship

as a unit of a large company on the State occasions alluded to above, is not the only ordeal prescribed by custom. Any official, humble or exalted, who is ordered to proceed abroad on public business, must, before leaving Japan, proceed to the Hall of Reverence and perform an act of homage or worship, whichever definition he pleases to adopt. That is a duty; there is no option. Possibly it is regarded in the light merely of a farewell declaration of allegiance. Possibly, also, the main body of the Christians in Japan accept the subtle distinction privately drawn by some of their fellow-believers, that so long as there is no worship in spirit, genuflections performed by the body have no connection with religion. But it is singular that this question has always been excluded from the sphere of public discussion, and singular also that Christians do not apparently recognise how plainly they are differentiated from the rest of the nation by the absence of any representative on ceremonial occasions in the Hall of Reverence. There is no native Christian prelate in Japan. There are Roman Catholic and Protestant hierarchs of European and American origin, — an Archbishop and several Bishops and Archdeacons, — but as yet no Japanese subject has attained such dignity. Each sect, however, has its senior pastor or father of Japanese nationality, and until these attend the ceremonials in the Hall of Reverence, as do the chief representatives of Buddhism, the

Christian element of the population will continue to be marked as standing aloof from rites which, in the eyes of patriotic Japanese, are connected with the very basis of nationalism.

The days set apart for these ceremonials within the Palace are not marked by any act of general devotion without, since the Emperor worships in lieu of his people. They are merely observed as national holidays. Every householder hangs the national flag before his gate, but visits are not paid to temples or shrines, nor is there any other evidence of a special occasion. It should be noted, too, that the description given here applies only to the ceremonial system organised subsequently to the Restoration in 1867. Prior to that time, the deities supposed to preside over worldly affairs were worshipped at fifteen set seasons annually. But these rites have been reduced and simplified. Formerly the deities that gave abundant crops, the deities that warded off plague and pestilence, the deities that breathed the spirit of vigour into things animate and inanimate, the deities that guarded against conflagrations, the deities that quelled evil demons, the deities that laid to rest wandering souls of the dead, the deities that made rain fall in time of drought, — all these were severally and collectively placated. But now the *Shintō* of the State has made a step towards monotheism. Amaterasu is worshipped as the supreme being; her descendants, the ancestors of the Emperor,

receive homage as associated deities performing a special tutelary rôle;[1] the other members of the pantheon are collectively reverenced.

Shrines are divided into four official grades, — State, provincial, prefectural, and divisional or district. There are subdivisions. State shrines are dedicated, for the most part, to the divine ancestors, but at a few the objects of worship are sovereigns or subjects that attained special distinction. Between a State shrine of the first grade and a district shrine of the last, there is, of course, a great difference in standing, but there need not be any corresponding difference in the relative importance of the deities worshipped there. Sometimes the object of worship at a State shrine of most imposing character is venerated elsewhere under circumstances that suggest an altogether inferior being. It is simply a question of local repute, financial capabilities, or other independent causes, just as in the Occident the same God is prayed to in city cathedrals and village churches. The shrine of the Sun Goddess, the *Daijin-gu* of Ise, stands at the head of all, but scarcely a hamlet in the realm is without a *Daijin-gu* of its own under the alias of *Myo-jin*. As for the number of the deities, it has never been counted by official statisticians. But the shrines that enjoy any considerable popularity are comparatively few, not more than ten in all.[2] The incomes enjoyed by these shrines are not

[1] See Appendix, note 56.

[2] See Appendix, note 57.

formidable. Some can boast of forty thousand *yen* annually; some of only a few hundreds. Small grants from the State, supplemented by the offerings of the pious and the sale of amulets, are the sources of revenue. The special functions assigned by the people to the deities worshipped at these shrines are various. No one knows what spirit of heaven or earth is venerated at the *Suiten-gu* in Tōkyō, and the shrine enjoys the peculiar distinction of being the private property of a nobleman. It stands within the precincts of his residence, and contributes a handsome sum to his yearly maintenance. But despite the anonymity of the god, people credit him with power to protect against all perils of sea and flood, against burglary, and, by a strange juxtaposition of "spheres of influence," against the pains of parturition. The deity of *Inari* secures efficacy for prayer and abundance of crops; the *Taisha* presides over wedlock; the *Kompira* shares with the *Suiten-gu* the privilege of guarding those that "go down to the deep."

The rest confer prosperity, avert sickness, cure sterility, bestow literary talent, endow with warlike prowess, and so on. There are no less than 193,476 *Shintō* shrines in Japan, but 14,766 priests suffice to perform the rites of the creed. It will be asked how one priest manages to officiate at thirteen shrines, — which is the average. The answer is that he does not officiate, as folks in the West understand the term. It

may be said generally of the *Shintō* shrines that not more than one service is performed there annually. The building stands frequently uninhabited, apparently untended. Now and then a worshipper comes, grasps the thick hempen rope that hangs in front, sways it against the gong across which it is suspended, and having thus summoned the presiding spirit, mutters a brief prayer, deposits two or three *cash* in the alms-chest, and goes his way. The Buddhists have 108,000 temples and 54,000 priests. It will be seen that many of these temples cannot fare better in the matter of ministrations than do the *Shintō* shrines.

As *Shintō* shrines are officially graded, so are the priests [1] connected with them. But the rank held by the greatest of the latter corresponds only with that of a local governor or a vice-minister of State. The hierarchy does not climb to a lofty elevation ; there is no Archbishop of Canterbury, no Pope of Rome. Nor would the emoluments of office excite the envy of an English rector. The official allowance, when there is one, varies from 100 *yen* to 33 *yen* monthly. Supplemented by a portion of the income accruing to the shrine, the portliest stipend of a *Shintō* priest probably amounts to twenty pounds sterling per month. In order to qualify for the magnificent chance of such opulence, he has to pass an examination, unless, indeed — and the contin-

[1] See Appendix, note 58.

gency is not rare — his father and forefathers have been priests for ten generations.

Buddhist priests have no official rank, nor are their temples graded. They live on the contributions of their parishioners and on the income derived from lands that were of great extent and large wealth-yielding capacity until the Government of the Restoration reduced their area to a mere fraction of its original dimensions.

Chapter VI

SUPERSTITIONS

IT will have been gathered, from what has been already written, that the Japanese are superstitious. They believe in ghosts, in demons, in the possession of supernatural powers by animals, in the efficacy of divination, and in the potency of spells and amulets. Of course the degree of such credulity varies greatly in the different strata of society, the upper and the educated classes giving themselves little concern about theories and traditions which play no small part in the lives of the low-born and the ignorant. That differentiation should be always remembered in reading what follows.

Not many painful superstitions attach to the lower orders of creation. Birds, animals, or fishes that have lived to a great age in secluded places are regarded as tutelary spirits, especially when they have an awe-inspiring aspect, as is the case with the bear, the monkey, the eagle, the cat-fish, the eel, the turtle, and the snake. Rustics call these creatures *nushi* (master), and treat them with profound reverence. A cognate form of superstition is to revere doves as messengers

of Hachiman (the god of war), rats as those of *Daikoku* (the deity of wealth), centipedes as those of *Bishamon* (the god of fortune), and ants as those of the Sun Goddess. A notable exception to this generally kindly view is connected with the origin of the earthquake. That source of gravest alarm to the Japanese is believed to be due to a giant cat-fish (*namazu*) which lies buried under the "land of the gods." Over its head is built the shrine of Daimyo-jin at Kashima in the province of Hitachi, and that deity is supposed to have his feet planted on the monster's snout. Whenever the god reduces the pressure or alters the position of his feet, the cat-fish writhes and the earth quakes. Beside the shrine stands a stone called "the pivot rock" (*kaname-ishi*). It is in the form of a rude pillar, and the people believe that it penetrates to an enormous depth and reaches to the head of the cat-fish.

It is probable that had wild animals been at any time a source of terror to the Japanese, the fact would find expression in their superstitions. But Japan was never troubled by the fiercer beasts of prey, lions and tigers, nor yet by venomous reptiles. If her island chain once formed a part of the Asiatic continent, as is generally believed, it would seem inevitable that the tiger should have made his home in Japanese forests. But there is no evidence that either tiger or lion ever roamed the wilds of Japan. Snakes abound, but with one solitary exception — the *mamushi* — they

are absolutely harmless. Wolves, however, were certainly numerous and destructive in ancient times, though they may now be said to survive in the realm of tradition only; and bears occasionally showed formidable propensities, though they, too, are to-day regarded merely as the hunter's quarry. At present the wild dog — the "mountain dog" (*yama-inu*) — is the only beast that inspires terror. He is not a wolf, but merely a dog that has never been domesticated. The Japanese dog is a valueless brute. In the stage of puppy-hood he presents some attractive features of fluffiness and rotundity, and artists have often recognised his picturesque qualities. But a few months of life suffice to convert him into an ill-shapen, unsightly, and useless cur. Except with children, therefore, he is never a pet, and he requites their kindness by eating them. Even within the precincts of the capital, during recent years, packs of dogs, starving outcasts, have been known to pull down a child in one of the waste spaces that mark the sites of former feudal mansions.

Nevertheless the deity of animals is regarded as an inhuman monster whom in ancient time it was considered necessary to placate by means of human sacrifices. Tradition has become much confused about this custom. Many Japanese believe that human beings were among the offerings originally made to the tutelary deities, in conjunction with fish, vegetables, and products of

industry. But the best authorities agree that such sacrifices were made to the god of wild beasts only. The victim was always a girl, and the manner of selecting her was singular. From the earliest ages, the archer's weapons have been regarded with the utmost reverence in Japan. Having been originally instrumental in bringing the barbarous autochthons under the celestial invaders' sway, the bow and the arrow subsequently became symbols of security against all perils, and in that sense were fixed upon the ridge-pole of a newly erected roof. The habit survives still. Not in remote country districts only, but even in the great cities, houses may to-day be seen with a bent bow and an adjusted arrow standing where a chimney would protrude its head from a Western roof. It is said that, in prehistoric times, the bow and arrow assumed that position by an exercise of supernatural power. A householder rising in the morning would find that his roof had been thus distinguished during the night, and the event was accepted as a divine intimation that the eldest unmarried daughter of the family must be sacrificed. She was buried alive, the supposition being that her flesh served as a repast for the deity. But the priests by and by found a more profitable manner of disposing of these unfortunate girls: they were sold as slaves. The tradition is a mixed record of practical knavery and gross superstition. The bow-and-arrow sign plainly indicates that rustic ignorance was ex-

ploited by dishonest priests. On the other hand, the superstitious fancy must have existed or it could not have been played upon. There is little hope, apparently, of ascertaining the details of a custom which probably ceased to be practised before the first records of popular life were compiled. What adds to the perplexity of the whole tradition is that the monster at whose shrine these sacrifices (*hitomi-goku*, literally, offerings of a human body) are said to have been made, is spoken of by some writers as an animal in the service of Shakamuni. The responsibility of the barbarous rite would therefore rest with Buddhism. But the sanctity of life has always been a fundamental tenet of the Buddhist religion. Thus the tradition becomes altogether vague and untrustworthy as to its details. Nothing can be accepted as certain except the fact that human sacrifices were made to propitiate the deity of wild beasts, and that human beasts subsequently turned the superstition to their own villanous uses.

Another form of human sacrifice believed to have been common in early ages and said to have been witnessed by men of the present generation, was called *iki-uzume*, or burying alive. The prevalent idea about this custom is that, at the inception of some great work, such as the building of a bridge or the erection of a castle, a human being was buried alive near the foundations to secure stability. But facts and fancies

are here commingled. What really happened was this. In the era of forced labour, when every adult rustic had to contribute a certain number of days' work annually to the service of the State or of his liege lord, it was usual for the official superintendent of these unwilling toilers to stand over them with a bare-bladed spear in hand. Any display of laziness justified fatal recourse to the spear, and the corpse of a man thus done to death was treated as so much inanimate material — thrown between the piles of an embankment or tossed into the foundations of a building. That species of fierce incitement was generally resorted to when extraordinary expedition had to be attained : when an inundation had to be averted, a river dammed before the flowing of the tide, a fortification constructed on the eve of attack, or a work concluded in anticipation of the advent of some great man. It proved, of course, highly efficacious, and may serve in some degree to explain the really wonderful achievements that stand to the credit of human effort in mediæval, and even in modern, Japan. Two corpses are said to be mouldering under the scarps of the futile forts hurriedly erected for the defence of Yedo (Tōkyō) in the interval between Commodore Perry's first and second comings; and looking down from Noge hill in the suburbs of Yokohama, one may see the shrine of a servant girl who sacrificed herself to expedite the reclamation of a swamp behind the foreign set-

tlement. Such incidents, however, had not in their origin any legitimate connection with superstition.

Since the English word "nightmare" indicates that the subjective character of that natural disturbance was not recognised when the Anglo-Saxon language came into existence, the student is prepared to find a corresponding superstition among the Japanese. They used to believe, and the lower orders do still believe, that a rat possesses some demoniacal power which it exercises maliciously during the night. But nobody concerns himself much about the question. Half a page of history, however, is devoted to the account of an imperial nightmare, the work of a very strange monster. The Emperor Shirakawa II. (1153 A. D.) was the victim of the visitation. Every night he fell into convulsions, and neither medicine nor prayer gave him relief. It was observed that at the moment of his seizure a dark cloud emerged from a forest eastward of the Palace and settled over the roof of His Majesty's chamber. The court, in conclave, decided that a warrior's weapon was needed, and invited the renowned Yorimasa to undertake the task. That night, as the cloud floated to its place and the Emperor's paroxysm overtook him, Yorimasa, with a prayer to the god of war on his lips, shot an arrow into the heart of the cloud. There fell to the ground a monster with the head of an ape, the body of a serpent, the legs of a

tiger, and the strident cry of the fabulous bird *nue*. Yorimasa received as reward an imperial sword and a Palace maiden, and the Emperor's nightmare ceased. There could be no doubt in the minds of later generations about the accuracy of these facts, for even the name of the beautiful girl bestowed on Yorimasa was known: it was "Sweet-flag" (*Ayame*). Such a detail raised the record to the rank of authentic history in the eyes of people who believed the wind to be the breath of a mighty spirit and the stars to be the sources of rain-drops.

Among all superstitions connected with animals in Japan, faith in the supernatural attributes of the fox is most widely entertained. This notion was originally imported from China. The fox, according to popular tradition, can assume human form and is also capable of entering into a man or woman. Roaming over a grassy plain, the animal picks up a skull, puts it on his head, and facing towards the north star, worships. At first he performs his religious genuflections and obeisances slowly and circumspectly, but by and by his motions become convulsively rapid and his leaps wondrously active. Yet however high he jumps towards the star, his skull-crown remains immovable. After a hundred acts of worship, he becomes capable of transforming himself into a human being, but if he desires to assume the shape of a beautiful maiden, he must live in the vicinity of a graveyard. As

a girl he is the central figure in numerous legends. His very name — *ki-tsu-ne*, "come and sleep" — is derived from such a legend, an ancient legend of the year 545 A. D. Ono, an inhabitant of Mino, spent the seasons longing for his ideal of female beauty. He met her one evening on a vast moor and married her. Simultaneously with the birth of their son, Ono's dog was delivered of a pup, which, as it grew up, became more and more hostile to the lady of the moors. She begged her husband to kill it, but he refused. At last, one day, the dog attacked her so fiercely that she lost heart, resumed her proper shape, leaped over a fence, and fled. "You may be a fox," Ono called after her, "but you are the mother of my son, and I love you. Come back when you please; you will always be welcome." So, every evening, she stole back and slept in his arms. The illiterate Japanese, even of the present day, though he may not entertain any very positive faith in such occurrences, preserves toward them a demeanour of respectful uncertainty. Not many years ago, a Tōkyō journal published a recent experience of a physician in Tochigi prefecture. Summoned at midnight to assist a lady in her confinement, he found, on arrival at her house, that the event was over, and that only some trifling medicines were needed. Having received his fee and been regaled with macaroni, he returned home. But the next morning, when he opened his purse, he saw that

the coins handed to him at his patient's residence were withered leaves. He hastened to revisit the place, and, guided by the tracks of the cart which had come to fetch him the preceding night, had no difficulty in reaching the spot. The house had disappeared. There was only a tea plantation in the midst of which a young fox lay dying. The macaroni alone was real: of that fact the physician was able to assure himself, and its *provenance* was explained by the discovery that macaroni prepared for a wedding feast in a neighbouring hamlet had been stolen on the same evening. There are scores of such stories, and hundreds of folks that listen to them gravely. There are also weak-minded persons to whose imagination these legends appeal so vividly that they become subjective victims of fox-possession. They bark like a fox, exhibit the utmost aversion to dogs, and otherwise lose their human identity. In many cases these imaginary seizures are cured by the aid of a priest. The patient is informed that means of enticing the fox to return to the hills have been provided, and that, at a certain hour and in obedience to a religious incantation, the animal will take its departure. Such remedies, attended by success, as they generally are, have the effect of confirming the superstition, and in rural districts few Japanese are entirely without belief in the phenomenon of fox-possession (*kitsume-tsuki*).

History contains records widely credited that

attest the supernatural powers of the fox. On the Nasu moor (*Nasu-no-hara*) in the province of Shimotsuke there used to stand a large rock known as *sessho-seki*, or the stone of death. It had been bewitched by a fox, and any living thing that touched it — man, bird, or animal — perished. In the year 1248 the Emperor Fukakusa II. commissioned a priest of renowned piety, Genno, to exorcise the evil spirit. Genno repaired to the moor, invoked the aid of Buddha, and struck the rock with his staff, whereupon the big stone split into fragments, and a beautiful girl, stepping out, thanked the priest with tears and vanished.

To the badger somewhat similar powers are attributed, but it is regarded rather as a mischievous practical joker than as a malicious demon. One of its most celebrated exploits as a supernatural trickster was in connection with a tea-urn which fell into the uncanny habit of developing the tail, snout, and claws of a badger at most inopportune moments of a social *réunion*. This half-transformed tea-urn — the *bunbuku-chagama*, as it is called — furnishes a favourite subject to carvers in wood or ivory. Another feat of the badger's has also been frequently depicted by Japanese sculptors and painters. It is called the *hara-tsuzumi* (paunch drum). On moonlit nights the animal raises himself on his hind-legs and goes roystering about the country, beating a drum on his paunch, knocking at the doors of timid folks, leading belated travellers

into wrong roads, and terrifying children and old women in sundry ways. The house of a farmer in the province of Awa recently became the beast's playground. A kitchen knife moved automatically from peg to block, and the fish-kettle was found to contain only boiling water when meal-time arrived. One day a rustic presented himself as the servant of a man to whom the farmer owed money, and demanded payment in his master's name. The farmer handed over three pieces of silver. After a time the creditor himself came and asked for his money. Then, of course, the farmer knew that he had been tricked by a badger. Presently the tail of the farm-horse was shorn off by invisible agency, and the horse itself, escaping from the stable, took refuge in a neighbouring village. The farmer led it back, locked it in, and locked the badger out; but again the horse absconded, and on searching its stall, the farmer found the three pieces of silver that had been carried off by the pseudo-servant. In such rôles the badger thrusts himself upon the stage of human existence.

The badger's sphere of influence is occasionally invaded by the *kama-itachi* (sickle-imp), a nondescript demon which sometimes cuts tresses from women's hair as they walk in unfrequented places, and often inflicts bleeding wounds on people's legs and arms without any visible exercise of effort. The *kama-itachi's* performances are vaguely connected with a sudden solution of

atmospheric continuity, a whirlwind, or other aerial disturbance, and if a country bumpkin finds that he has unconsciously received a hurt, he has no hesitation in attributing it to the demoniacal sickle-carrier.

The *kappa* (river-urchin) is another fabulous monster, malevolent like the sickle-bearer, but more deadly in its doings. It dwells in rivers and lakes, and its favourite haunts are catalogued with solemn accuracy. No one has attempted to describe the *kama-itachi*, but the *kappa's* appearance is minutely depicted. It has the body of a ten-year-old child; is hairy like a monkey; possesses eyes of piercing brilliancy; has in its skull a cup-like cavity; speaks the language of human beings; lives in the water, but emerges at nightfall and steals melons and egg-fruit, its favourite food. Wrestling is the pastime affected by it. It invites men to try a bout, and, despite its puny proportions, comes off violently victorious; unless, indeed, the water contained in its skull-cup be spilled, when its strength vanishes. To defeat it, however, is as bad as to be defeated, for the result is loss of reason and gradual wasting away. This river-urchin, in common with the snapping-turtle, is credited with vampire propensities: it attacks people in the water and sucks their blood. In the Uma district of Iyo province there is a lake where country-folk often bathe in the dog days. There the river-urchin or the snapping-turtle is said to claim two victims yearly.

They lose their colour after emerging from the lake, and gradually pine away with symptoms that do not bear description.

Even the dog has a place in Japanese demonology. How the faithful animal originally fell under suspicion of supernatural wickedness, it is difficult to ascertain, but tradition represents him, not as naturally malevolent, but merely as the agent of human passion. An old woman, consumed with hatred of a powerful enemy whom her vengeance could not reach, buried her favourite dog in the ground so that its head alone emerged, and then, having fondled the head for a time, cut it off with a bamboo saw, saying: "If you have a soul, kill my enemy and I will worship you as a deity." Her wish was granted, but the spirit of the dog became thenceforth an inmate of her house, and made her suffer for her cruelty. The example set by this vengeful old woman is said to have been followed by others in a more logical fashion. Their idea being to convert the spirit of longing into a physical agency, they buried a dog, leaving only the head exposed, and surrounding it with tempting viands, suffered it to starve to death. Having thus received a vivid object lesson in the pain of unsatisfied desire, the dog's spirit was supplicated to save its former master or mistress from similar suffering.

The superstition outlined by this legend generally takes the form of a belief that the blood

of the dog-demon (*inu-gami*) flows in the veins of certain families. In the "island of the four provinces" (*Shikoku*) and in the eight provinces forming the "mountain shadow district" (*San-in-do*), the dog-demon is supposed to have tainted many households, and ignorant folks, before contracting a marriage, are careful to employ an expert who examines the genealogical tables of the bride and bridegroom in order to ascertain whether any trace of the evil influence is apparent. Bakin, Japan's greatest writer of fiction, based his celebrated romance, the "Eight-dog Tale" (*Hakken-den*), upon the Buddhist doctrine that animals have souls. Frequently characteristic of fox-possessed men is an outrageous insistence on being served with the best of everything at the shortest notice, but when any one lineally related to the dog-demon covets the possessions of a neighbour, the influence of the *inu-gami* overtakes the latter and quickly reduces him to a state of dementia. It is also supposed that if a member of a dog-demon family casts eyes of longing on viands belonging to another person, they immediately become putrid.

It will readily be conceived that if the dog finds a place in demonology, the cat is not exempted. The latter, indeed, figures prominently in some most aristocratic legends; for example, the sanguinary connection caused by a cat in the noble family of Nabeshima, a story familiar under the name of *Nabeshima Sōdō* to

every reader of Japanese literature. Crimes which, under less romantic circumstances, would be ascribed to very vulgar passions, are laid to the cat's charge. Old age develops its evil propensities. When time has rendered it gaunt and grisly, it becomes a *neko-mata*, or cat-imp. Its agency is detected in weird lights that dance above the floor, darting out of reach when pursued; in the spinning of untouched wheels; in the turning of beds during their inmates' sleep. Then, perhaps, the old cat is detected sitting on its hind-legs with its head wrapped in the towel of the person it intends to bewitch, and if it is killed at the right moment, it is found to have two tails and a body five feet long.

Among people so profoundly convinced of the truth of animistic philosophy and at the same time so keenly appreciative of the beauties of nature, it was inevitable that the most graceful or brilliant objects in the world of foliage and flowers should be invested with spirit attributes. The spirit of a tree is called *Kodama*. The *Yenoki* (*Celtis sinensis*), which grows to an immense size and shows strange gnarling of trunk and distortion of branch, is a frequent object of this superstition. In Itabashi, a suburb of Tōkyō, there stands a tree called the "love-severing *Yenoki*" (*Yenkiri Yenoki*), which has the property of separating all lovers that come within its shadow. In the seventeenth century, when Princess Iso travelled from Kyōtō to Yedo to be the *Shōgun's*

bride, her cortège made a long detour to avoid the vicinity of this tree, and the same precaution was observed in the cases of Princesses Raku and Kazu at subsequent dates. Another tree of the same kind at Yenoki-zaka in Tōkyō cures tooth-ache, and the leaves of an oak at Azuma-mari drive away ague. Sometimes a cordon of straw rope plaited in the style of the New-Year *shime-nawa* is drawn about such sacred trees; sometimes they are fenced off, and sometimes a shrine with a box for thank-offerings is placed under their boughs by persons not indisposed to derive profit from their fellow-beings' piety. The cedar and camphor-tree are notable objects of such respect. Plants growing in an abnormal manner or presenting any peculiar features are also thought to possess miraculous power. Many pretty legends grew out of that conviction. The cherry bloom, type of glowing loveliness, and the willow, image of everything that is refined and gentle, often took the shape of winsome maidens and bestowed themselves upon some great warrior or noble exile. So, too, when Sugawara-no-Michizane, the most unfortunate of Japanese statesmen, became the victim of a rival's slanders and was banished to Dazaifu in Chikuzen, the rosy-petalled plum-tree on whose boughs he had hung verselets every spring from the days of his boyhood, flew through the clouds from Kyōtō, and planted itself by his side in the place of his solitude. The Japanese love this legend of the flying plum (*tobi-ume*), and

love also to tell of the peonies of Ono-no-Komachi, the celebrated poetess, whose life included the most luxurious and the most illustrious experiences, as well as the most miserable and the most abject, that ever fell to the lot of an Oriental lady. In the village where she was born a shrine stands dedicated to her memory, and near it grow ninety-nine peony-trees, planted by her own hand, just a thousand years ago, and now tended by her spirit. From time to time a few of the little trees were transplanted to some city garden for the sake of their magnificent blossoms, but invariably they pined away and would have perished had they not been carried back to their old place beside the shrine, where the homage of all sympathetic souls is paid to them still under the name of *Komachi-Shakuyaku*.

Tombstones, too, are supposed to have healing power. A fragment of the Sankatsu sepulchre in Ōsaka, if powdered and drunk with water, cures consumption; and the tomb of a green-grocer's daughter, Oshichi, in Tōkyō, if similarly treated, has the property of conferring an exceptional capacity for wine-bibbing.

Buddhism, with its worlds of hungry devils and of infernal beings, and its realistic pictures of the torments suffered by the souls of men in the kingdom of the god of Hades (Yemma), is responsible for the Japanese people's conception of an anthropomorphic demon (*oni*). They represent him with horns, a vast, heavy-fanged mouth,

glaring eyes, a flat nose, broadly expanding nostrils, three-fingered hands and three-toed feet, long silvery talons, and wearing nothing but a girdle of tiger skin. He has all the ferocity and all the malignity proper to his kind. He takes his pastime when on earth in the depths of forests and the caverns of remote mountains, lives there on human flesh, and carries off beautiful women to share his orgies. In the ninth century he began to be a prominent figure in Japanese imagination, and his doings since that era are recorded in a library of startling records too voluminous to be opened here.

There is another genus of demon that deserves notice as being essentially an outcome of Japanese fancy. It is the *tengu*, generally imagined as a monster of huge stature and enormous strength, with the body of a man and the face and wings of a bird. The *tengu* is one of the most mysterious of Japanese monsters. The ideographs with which the name is written signify "heavenly dog." One tradition says that, in the year 638 A.D. the Emperor Jomei gave the name *tengu* to a meteor which flashed from east to west with a loud detonation. Another and more venerable account alleges that the *tengu* were emanations from the excessive ardour of the "Impetuous Male Deity" (Susa-no-o); that they were female demons, with human bodies, beasts' heads, vast ears, noses so long that they could hang men on them and fly a thousand miles without feeling the

burden, teeth that bit through swords and spears, and the faculty of becoming pregnant by inhaling miasma. They defy the control of the celestial deities, and are altogether an unruly, tameless band. The demon proper (*oni*) has his permanent abode in other worlds, but the *tengu* is still supposed to frequent the recesses of high mountains. He is not a particularly malevolent being. Sometimes he spirits men away and restores them to their homes in a semi-demented condition. This is called *tengu-kakushi* (hidden by a *tengu*). A great scholar of the eighteenth century, Hirata Atsutane, has recorded an example furnished by his own era: On the evening of the 17th of March in the year 1740, Kiuchi Heizayemon disappeared. A retainer of Ishikawa Seiyemon, he had accompanied his master from Otsu, the latter being deputed to superintend some repairs at the monastery of *Hiei-zan*. Kiuchi's comrades searched for him everywhere. They found only his wooden clogs cast far apart; the scabbard of his sword broken into fragments; the blade bent like the handle of a kettle, and his girdle cut into three pieces. At midnight, between the sobs of a dying storm, a voice, hoarse as the wind itself, was heard calling for help. Passing through the rain and sleet, Suzuki Shichiro saw a winged figure standing on the roof of the temple. The others drew near, and observing that the wing-like appendages were only a torn umbrella flapping in the gale, they called out to know

whether the figure was Kiuchi. He answered yes, and prayed to be taken down. But no sooner had they laid hands on him than he fainted away and lay for three days in a swoon. When he recovered consciousness he said: "That evening I heard my name called, and going out, found a monk, dressed in black, shouting 'Heizayemon, Heizayemon.' Beside him stood a huge man with flaming red visage and dishevelled hair reaching to the ground, who ordered me roughly to climb to the roof of the vestibule. I refused and drew my sword, but in a moment he seized it, broke the scabbard in pieces and bent the blade into the shape of a kettle-handle. Then they tore off my girdle, and with three blows of their staffs cut it into as many pieces. After that I was raised to the roof, beaten severely, and finally compelled to take my seat on a round tray, which ascended with me into the air and travelled at lightning speed to various regions. It seemed to me that I had been ten days flying through space when I began to pray to Buddha, and immediately I was lowered, apparently to the summit of a high mountain, but really to the roof of the temple. At the same time I recognised the voice of a venerable priest who had previously interfered to prevent the monsters from beating me to death. I asked the name of my benefactor, but he answered only that he had lived on Mount Hiei for nine hundred years." Sometimes the *tengu* assists heroes to achieve their aims, as when

Yoshitsune received fencing-lessons from a *tengu* near the monastery where his boyhood was passed; and sometimes the strange creature enters into frail girls and endows them with miraculous martial prowess. This possession by a *tengu* is called *tengu-gakari*. Dr. Inouye Enryo, an eminent Japanese philosopher of the present era, recently delivered a lecture on demonology, in connection with which he referred to a case of *tengu*-possession, affirmed by the fencing-master of the Tōkyō Police School. The learned professor declared that a girl who had lost the use of her left hand sprang from her bed one night crying that the *tengu* was coming, and that a youth with a halberd and a fencing-sword would arrive the next day. The following morning she had no recollection of what had happened, but the youth arriving, as she had predicted, the fit overtook her again, and with closed eyes, using her one sound hand, she exhibited extraordinary skill of fence with halberd and sword alike.

The *tengu* has faded, for the most part, out of the vista of adult observation, and now figures chiefly in children's tales and old women's stories, but at a date not more remote than the *Ansei* era (1854–1860) the officials of the Yedo Government showed that their faith in such supernatural beings was practical. On the occasion of a projected visit of the *Shōgun* to Nikko, they directed that the following notice

should be exhibited in the neighbourhood of the mausolea : —

To the *TENGU* and other Demons.

Whereas our *Shōgun* intends to visit the Nikko Mausolea next April, now therefore ye *Tengu* and other Demons inhabiting these mountains must remove elsewhere until the *Shōgun's* visit is concluded.

(Signed) Mizuno, *Lord of Dewa.*

Dated July, 1860.

On another notice-board the local officials addressed the supernatural beings as follows : —

To the Great and Small *TENGU* and Demons.

Having received orders from the *Shōgun's* chief officers to exhibit the accompanying tablet in connection with the coming of His Highness to Nikko, we obey as in duty bound. Therefore ye *Tengu* and Demons had better disperse to Mounts Kurama and Atago of Kyōtō, Mount Akibu of Tōtōmi province, and Mount Hiko of Buzen province.

It will be observed that appropriate routine is followed in these notices. The order from the *Shōgun's* chief minister is couched in general terms; the order from the local officials at Nikko gives detailed directions to the goblins and imps as to the places of their retreat.

It need scarcely be said that the deities are credited with ability to inflict punishment before death, as when a man that stole nails from a Buddhist idol lost the use of four fingers, and a youth that derided Shaka was permanently fixed

in the window through which he had looked at the image. Like many other peoples the ignorant classes in Japan regard comets as omens of evil and falling stars as precursors of death. They believe also in plague gods, so that when smallpox becomes epidemic special prayers are uttered and charms employed, and when influenza prevails the deity of the evil blast is manufactured in straw effigy, and escorted out of the district with beating of drums and reciting of exorcisms. Of course miraculous events have frequently occurred. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the spirit of the renowned prelate Kōbō Daishi fashioned the grooves on a mill-stone in one night by way of token that the people of the district should enjoy his protection during the year, and in the middle of the nineteenth century the inhabitants of Owari and Mino were thrown into a state of ecstasy by a shower of sacred paper which fell from heaven to indicate the presence of the deities.

Believing that the spirits of the dead watch over and protect their living kindred, the Japanese believe also that the ghosts of the departed sometimes vex and torture those that used them ill on this side of the grave. Deeds of blood and cruelty have brought upon their perpetrators apparitions and mental torments ending in madness, ruined fortunes, and suicide. The lower orders found comfort in thinking that the miseries they had sometimes to suffer unresistingly at the hands

of the great might be thus requited after the death of the sufferer, but, on the whole, the restless ghost with a mission of revenge never seriously disturbed the public mind. Haunted houses, however, are so common that in every city two or three may be seen standing untenanted. Educated men might have no hesitation in renting or purchasing such places, but they would certainly find difficulty in getting servants to live there, from which it may be inferred that the reality of ghostly appearances is not questioned by the masses. When a girl warns her faithless lover that her spirit will haunt him (*tottsuku*), she does not doubt her ability to make the threat good, and when folks allege that they have seen the soul of the newly dead float away over eaves and roof, a transparent globe (*hito-dama*) of impalpable essence, their faith in the accuracy of their eyesight is honest. When rain falls at midnight ghosts love to walk abroad, and timid mortals are correspondingly careful to remain within doors. Yet there is never much hesitation to take part in a spirit-summoning *réunion*. The convives sit within a circle of a hundred lamps and recount a hundred legends (*hiyaku-monogatari*), one lamp being extinguished for each legend. When the last light has disappeared, the party are in a mental condition suitable to welcome the ghosts, demons, or other supernatural beings that inevitably come upon the scene.

Death is not an essential preliminary to the ex-

ercise of spirit power. The passion of hatred or revenge may become so intense as to liberate the soul from its bodily tenement, and despatch it upon a mission of hostility. All these beliefs have left their mark upon the literature of the nation and upon the canvas of the artist. In a deeper stratum of superstition may be found still stranger fossils of tradition — the wild man, the wild woman, the female ogre (*kijo*), and the mountain genius (*sen-nin*). The wild man and the wild woman — literally, the "mountain man" and the "mountain woman" — are harmless curiosities.

There is a story of a wild woman caught in a spring trap in Hiuga province. Her body differed from that of an ordinary female only in being covered with white hair. The wild man is said to abound among the mountains of Kiushiu, where the people call him *yama-waro*. He is described as a large black-haired monkey, possessing enormous muscular strength. He steals food from the villages, but is always ready to help woodcutters to transport timber in return for a ball of rice. Any attempt to capture or kill him brings dire calamity, insanity, plague, or sudden death upon his assailants. The female ogre (*kijo*) figures frequently in the pages of romance. She is a cannibal capable of flitting about like a moth and traversing pathless mountains. Once in every circle of sixty years, when the "senior fire element" is linked with the zodiacal horse, a female man-eater is born, but it does

not follow that the intervening years are never disgraced by the appearance of such monsters, which, for the rest, belong rather to the phantasies of the nursery than to the superstitions of grown-up folks.

A more widely disseminated belief, which has also left indelible traces in the realm of fine art and sculpture, is based upon the theory that, by mortification of the flesh and complete annihilation of all carnal desires, the divine attributes of the soul may be actively developed though it still retains its earthly tenement. This superstition came to Japan from China. It had its origin in the hermits or ascetics who hid themselves in mountain caves beyond the sounds of the world's passion and confusion, and thus, fading imperceptibly out of human knowledge, were supposed to have attained immortality. In esoteric terms the Chinese *sieng-nung* are supposed to be beings released from the chain of transmigrations for a hundred thousand years, which period of rest they spend in mountain solitudes. The first Japanese *sen-nin* was a native of Noto, by name Yōshō. He was born in 870 A. D., and his supernatural character was presaged by his mother's dream that she had swallowed the sun. Exceptional ability and profound charity marked his early life, which was devoted chiefly to the study of the "Lotus of the Law." Abstaining from rice and barley, he lived on fruit only, and at length he succeeded in reducing his diet to a

grain of millet daily. Thus, having attained supernatural power, he departed from the earth in the year 901. His mantle was found hanging from the branch of a tree, with a scroll: "I bequeath my mantle to Emmei of *Dōgen-ji*" (the name of a temple). Emmei, seeking his master year after year among forests and mountains, became himself a *sen-nin*. After Yōshō's disappearance, his father fell sick, and prayed fervently that he might once more see his favourite son. By and by, the voice of Yōshō was heard overhead, reciting the "Lotus of the Law," and promising that if flowers were offered and incense burned on the 18th of every month, his spirit would come, drawn by the perfume and the flame, to requite his father's love. This legend inspired imitation in all ages. Even now there are recluses living in hollow trees or rocky caverns among the forests and mountains of Ehime prefecture and of northern *Tōsan-dō*. They subsist on herbs and fruits, and hunters sometimes carry to country hamlets tales of strange beings appearing and disappearing so suddenly as to suggest supernatural powers. Doubtless out of such materials the myths of the *sen-nin* and probably of the *tengu* also, were originally constructed. The Japanese view the *sen-nin* (or *rishi*) with playful gravity. In the innumerable representations of these strange beings that are to be found among the works of celebrated painters or carvers in wood and ivory, a ray of laughter always

lightens the general austerity of the conception. Sobu, watching his sacred geese, looks as though he were himself on the verge of cackling; Chokoro, liberating his magic horse from a monster gourd, seems astounded at his own achievement; Gama, with his toad warlock, is sufficiently dirty, distraught, and unkempt to suit such companionship; Tekkai, as he blows his soul into space, presents an inane aspect quite in character with the myth that he forgot to provide for the safety of his body during the wanderings of his spirit, and thus had to be ultimately content with the buried corpse of a beggar; Roko balances himself on his flying tortoise with the air of a decrepit acrobat; and *Kumê*, who fell from his cloud-chariot because his carnal desires were revived by the sight of a beautiful girl's image mirrored in a stream, has a wavering mien suggestive of some such catastrophe. The mountain genii of Japan never meddled with earthly affairs or placed their supernatural powers at the disposal of human beings, whereas the *tengu*, as shown above, were much more accommodating.

People to whose imagination the unknown fate of a hermit or the fanaticism of an ascetic presented such a mine of vivid myths, did not fail to find weird explanation of the *ignis fatuus*. It was a ghost-fire (*in-kwa*), a demon-light (*oni-bi*), a fox-flame (*kitsune-bi*), a flash-pillar (*hito-bashira*), a badger-blaze (*tanuki-bi*), a dragon-torch (*riu-to*), a lamp of Buddha (*Butsu-to*), and so forth. Here

are two of the legends that have grown out of these wild-fires: —

In the Nikaido district of Settsu province, from the middle of March to the end of June every year, there may be seen, resting sometimes on the top of a tree, a globe of fire, about a foot in diameter, which, when examined intently, is found to have a human face peering from its lurid surface. It is a harmless phenomenon. The people regard it with pity, recalling its origin. For, in remote ages, there lived in this district one Nikōbō, a beadsman (*yamabushi*), celebrated for his skill in exorcism. His services having been solicited on behalf of the sick wife of the local governor, he passed many days by the side of the lady's couch, practising his pious art. She recovered, but her husband, in an excess of jealousy, caused Nikōbō to be put to death, charging him with a foul crime. His benevolent work thus requited with inhuman wrong, the soul of the beadsman flamed with resentment, and taking the form of a miraculous fire, hovered over the roof of the murderer's house, and kindled a fever in his blood that finally consumed him. Since that time Nikōbō's ghost-flame pays a yearly visit to the scene of its suffering and its revenge.

At the base of the Katada hills in Omi province there lies a lake from whose margin, on cloudy nights in early autumn, a little ball of fire emerges. Creeping towards the feet of the

mountains, it grows as it goes, sometimes swelling to a brilliant sphere, three feet in diameter, sometimes not developing to more than a third of that size, but always when it rises to the height of a man's stature above the ground, showing within its glow two faces, to which gradually the torsos of two naked wrestlers, struggling furiously, attach themselves. It takes its way slowly and harmlessly to the recesses of the hills, but resents, with superhuman force, any attempt to interrupt its progress. Once a wrestler of unconquered fame waited at midnight for its coming, and sprang to grasp it as it passed through the mists. He was hurled to a distance of ten or twelve yards, and barely escaped with his life.

Of the "badger-blaze" it is related that it wanders in the Kawabe district of Settsu on rainy nights, and that uninitiated rustics, mistaking it for the glowing pipe of an ox-driver, hold converse with the badger, who is at all times a sociable fellow, and have even lit their own tobacco at his and puffed it in his company. The numerous legends that Japanese fancy has woven round the will-o'-the-wisp have an interest of their own as illustrating the genius of the people, but limits of space forbid fuller reference to the subject here.

What has thus far been written about superstition will have probably prepared the reader to hear that the Japanese have always been disposed to attach great importance to divination. It is

unquestionable that Confucianism is largely responsible for the growth and persistence of such an irrational mood. So much time and study did the Chinese Sage devote to the Book of Changes (*Yih-King*) that the leather thongs holding its leaves together were worn out thrice during his lifetime. The result of his labours, as has been well said, was "to add some inexplicable chapters to an incomprehensible book." Commenced by Fuh-hsi, thirty centuries before Christ, carried far towards completion by Wan Wang, eighteen centuries later, and enlarged by Confucius, the *Yih-King* has long been the chief vehicle for divination in the Far East. The Japanese call it *Ye-Ki*, and to the method of divination derived from it give the name *boku-zei*, or *boku-zeichiku*; *boku* signifying divination, and *zei* and *chiku*, respectively, *Lespedeza sericea* and bamboo, of which woods the divining sticks are made. Much of the book's supposed value lies in the mystery that enshrouds it. Starting from the fundamental idea that the universe had its origin in the union of the male and female principles, the *yin* and the *yang*, it undertakes to elaborate a theory of all physical phenomena and of all moral and political doctrines by means of eight trigrams and sixty-four diagrams. To attempt any full explanation of it would be to supplement vagueness by bewilderment, Chinese literati and foreign students alike having failed to understand it. One point only may be noted, that as

the evolution of written ideas in China could be traced in the growth of ideographs, which were simply linear combinations, partly systematic, partly arbitrary, so the authors of the *Yih-King*, when they sat down to ruminate on the processes of nature and the operations of the intellect, instinctively turned to the grouping of long and short lines as a vehicle for the construction of philosophical formulæ. If the mystical numbers in which Pythagoras sought the elements of realities had been themselves necessarily resolvable into lines, it is probable that he too would have shaped his fancies into diagrams and trigraphs instead of expressing them in numerals. Thus much premised, an explanation may be given of the simplest manner of divination, as prescribed by the *Yih-King*, since by following the process a tolerably clear idea is obtained of the manner in which the sexual principle and the trigraphs serve for purposes of prediction. The Japanese have a very pithy proverb, *Ataru mo hakke ataranu mo hakke*, which means that whatever the event may prove to be, the eight trigraphs are right; in other words, that the diviner always leaves a margin for his own justification. But it is not to be denied that the faith of an immense number of people is belied by such an aphorism, and that failures to obtain true glimpses of the future by means of divining rods are generally attributed not so much to inefficacy in the doctrine as to imperfections in the mood of the disciple. The so-

called "orthodox" and "intermediate" methods are altogether too complicated to be explained here, but the "abridged" is comparatively easy. It matters little, indeed, which method is employed, so far as the method itself is concerned; but since everything depends on the singleness of the diviner's mind and the fervour of his faith, and since ordinary men cannot hope to abstract themselves completely from their surroundings for any lengthy period, the quickest process is the most likely to give good results. The diviner, having thoroughly cleansed his body, seats himself perfectly upright in a secluded chamber, and reverentially grasps the fifty divining rods, remembering always that they are sacred media through which the purposes of the all powerful are revealed by the aid of certain numerical mutations. One of the rods — any one — is separated from the rest and set upright in the rod-rack, thus becoming the "great origin." The lower ends of the remaining rods are then held with the left hand, and their upper ends are slightly dovetailed. With the right hand, thumb inside, fingers outside, the forty-nine rods are now raised above the head. This is the supreme moment. The eyes are closed, the respiration is suspended, the thoughts are concentrated solemnly on the almighty intervention about to be invoked. Presently the senses are pervaded by a thrill indicating that communication with the supernatural has been established, and at that instant the rods are divided into two

groups, the celestial and the terrestrial, the "positive" and the "negative." The right-hand group is laid on the table, and one rod, having been removed from it, is inserted lengthways between the third and little fingers of the left hand, the figure thus formed being a trigraph, "heaven, earth, and mankind." The left-hand group is then counted in cycles of eight — two by two — and the remainder, including the rod held between the third and little finger, is noted. Evidently there may be any remainder from cipher to seven, and these eight possibilities, commencing with unity and ending with cipher, correspond to eight trigraphs representing "heaven," "morass," "fire," "thunder," "wind," "water," "mountain," and "earth." The trigraph indicated by the remainder is called the "inner complement," and is placed at the bottom of the group which, when completed, will give the desired information. The above process is now repeated, and a second trigraph is obtained. It is called the "outer complement," and being placed at the top of the projected group, gives, with the "inner complement," a diagram of six lines, which has its corresponding ideograph. The rods are now once more divided, and again counted, this time in cycles of six, and from the remainder another trigraph is obtained. Thus gradually a diagram of six trigraphs is built up, and from the pages of the *Yih-King*, used after the manner of a dictionary, the corresponding interpretation is taken out.

Professors of this art of divination are numerous, their clients legion. The great adepts live in imposing mansions; the rank and file are content to spread a mat by the roadside, and there, with conspicuously disposed paraphernalia of rods and tomes, await the casual consultations that timid or bashful folks are glad to hold. The fee varies from two or three *sen* to a *yen*, and in cases of importance very much larger sums are paid. It will readily be conceived that many other systems of vaticination are practised. Two of the best known are the *Ten-gen* (heavenly original), and the *Tō-kiu* (zodiacal essence system). The former was introduced from China in the year 960 A. D.; the latter is a Japanese modification of the former, dating from 1835. A third and cognate system, known as *Kanshi-jutsu* (the element and zodiacal art), is of somewhat later origin than the *Tō-kiu*. Among living representatives of the *Tō-kiu* are the widows of two of its formerly renowned professors, and it receives large support from the noble families of Suwa and Tachibana. The *Ten-gen* and *Tō-kiu* are much in vogue. They may be roughly described as the casting of horoscopes. Both are primarily based on the assumption that every human being has received from heaven a vital essence or spirit (*ki*), by the influence of which his health, his conduct, and his moral ability are determined. The hour, the day, the month, and the year of a man's birth, when expressed in terms of the elementary and

zodiacal series, furnish materials for constructing a horoscope, from which the course of procedure best adapted to the nature of this "spirit" may be mapped out. Thus these forms of divination do not aim so much at furnishing exact predictions, as at developing the better side of a man's character, and enabling him to avert calamities which the preponderance of his inferior elements would certainly entail. Men of means and position and students on the threshold of independent life or struggling to win academical laurels, have recourse to adepts in these systems, which they regard as more or less useful guides to moral philosophy. The exact methods pursued by a professor in analysing the "prime essence" of an inquirer cannot be defined, the processes of the art being known only to the families in which they have been secretly transmitted from generation to generation and by whose representatives they are practised. Physiognomy (*kwan-so*) constitutes a serviceable but not an essential assistant, the vital indications being drawn from the horoscope. It is also practised as an independent science under the name of *Ninso-jutsu*.

Considered from the point of view of the large part that it plays in the every-day life of the people, the system of "aspect divination" (*hōi-jutsu*) is more important than any of the above. It is a species of astrology based upon the supposition that the supernatural influences which mould a man's destiny emanate from certain regions of the

starry firmament, and that good is invited or evil averted by turning towards the auspicious quarter or away from the inauspicious at critical seasons in life. The Gregorian calendar was finally adopted in Japan thirty years ago, but the two series of "terrestrial stems" and "celestial branches" out of which the cycles of the old almanack were constructed, still present to the astrologer and horoscopist ready means of establishing connections between any point of the compass and the date of a birth, and nothing then remains except to assign special attributes to special stars or combinations of stars. It would appear that in remote ages this theory had not emerged from a rudimentary form. Men believed that somewhere away in the northeast stood the demon's gate (*ki-mon*), and that human beings should preserve towards that quarter a demeanour of reverential deprecation — should not face it in sleeping, should not turn their feet thitherward at the commencement of a journey, should not give their houses a northeasterly aspect, should not cultivate the corner of their parks or gardens on which the eyes of the evil spirits looked out from the portals of bad omen. The celebrated monastery of Hiei-zan on the northeast of the Imperial Palace in Kyōtō, and the scarcely less celebrated temples of Uyeno on the northeast of the *Shōgun's* palace in Tōkyō, were religious barriers suggested by this superstition, and if any one examines the pleasure-grounds

surrounding Japanese houses, he will see that the northeasterly quarter is always thickly planted and left without ornamental rockery or pathway. Such evidences of practical demonology afford, however, but a slight glimpse of the importance attached by the middle and lower classes, and even by many members of the upper, to the question of celestial quarter. Oshima Sekibun, the chief professor of the science of "aspect divination," is unable, even with the aid of a large band of disciples, to furnish oracles for the multitudes that come daily to consult him. There are numbers of sober business men and educated gentlemen in Tōkyō — to say nothing of the softer sex and the uneducated — who deem it absolutely essential to preface every important act by recourse to this kind of augury. Before building a house, before selecting a site, before changing from one residence to another, before opening a store, before applying for an official post, before engaging in any industrial or commercial enterprise, before betrothing a son or daughter, before fixing the date of a marriage, before despatching a cargo, before setting out on a journey, before preparing for an accouchement,—before any of these things, and, in the case of the more superstitious, before any act that lies outside the most ordinary routine of every-day existence, the advice of the aspect diviner has to be sought.

A Tōkyō newspaper recently published a statement illustrating the uses to which diviners are

put. A man having purchased a quantity of vegetables, hired a cart for their transport. Needing to make a diversion from the direct route homeward, he bade the carter wait at a certain place. The carter seized the opportunity to abscond with the vegetables. When their owner discovered his loss, he repaired to the house of a diviner, obtained information as to the whereabouts of the thief, and hastening off, apprehended him in the act of selling the vegetables. Another story of contemporary doings shows the adroitness of the diviners in accounting for their failures. A person in good circumstances learned from a horoscopist the exact date of his death. He regulated his affairs accordingly, spent his money lavishly, and having procured a coffin and paid his funeral expenses, lay down to await the supreme moment. It came and passed uneventfully. He therefore proceeded to upbraid the diviner. The latter listened calmly to his reproaches, and finally asked: "May I inquire whether you devoted any of your fortune to charitable objects?" "Certainly," replied the other. "Believing that my opportunities of spending money were brief, I gave away considerable sums in that way." "Just so," said the diviner. "But you failed to observe that benevolent deeds establish a claim upon heaven's protection, and that they would surely be rewarded by the lengthening of your life."

Prominence has here been given to modes of divination which may still be classed among the

important customs of the nation. But others of great interest, though now more or less obsolete, deserve passing notice. Among these the oldest appears to have been scapulimancy, or divining by the cracks and lines in the scorched shoulder-blade of a deer. It is suggestive that the same method of discerning the future was practised in ancient times in Tartary, Mongolia, Arabia, Lapland, and even England, being known in the last-named country as "reading the speal-bone." Tortoise-shell was subsequently substituted for shoulder-bones, — a change especially convenient for women, who, by burning the ends of their tortoise-shell combs, and observing the divergence or convergence, regularity or confusion, of the lines on the charred surface drew inferences about the course of their love affairs. Another method, much practised by girls, was to stand by the roadside in the evening and construct auguries by patching together such fragments of wayfarers' talk as were wafted to their ears. This *tsuji-ura*, or road divining, has quite gone out of vogue. The term is now applied to mottoes placed within envelopes of sweet biscuit, after the "cracker" fashion of the West. But, in former days, the doubts of the heart-sick were often resolved, and the aspirations of the village belle encouraged, by such glimpses of fate's purposes. Sometimes a rod was planted in the ground to personify the deity of roads, — the god formed from Izanagi's staff which he cast behind him to stay the demons as they pur-

sued him from the under-world. Offerings having been made to this rod, the conversation of the passers-by was earnestly listened to. Another method of later origin required the coöperation of three maidens. Repairing to a place where roads crossed, they thrice repeated an invocation to the deity of ways; marked out a space over which they scattered rice to drive away evil spirits, and then, having drawn their fingers along the teeth of a box-wood comb — box-wood because the Japanese name for that wood (*tsuge*) means also "to tell" — stationed themselves, each on a different road, waiting to catch the words of people going by. Dreams, strange to say, do not seem to have been regarded in the light of important supernatural revelations, though auguries were occasionally drawn from them, and the service of interpreting them has, of course, found professors. Sometimes an augury was sought by standing under a bridge and listening to the patter of feet overhead; sometimes the familiar device of pitching coins was employed, and sometimes divine revelations were supposed to be conveyed in the sounds made by a priest whistling by inhalation. It need scarcely be said that the old custom of trial by ordeal, to which allusion is made in previous chapters, has disappeared, but there still exists a device for detecting guilt which, though not disfigured by physical cruelty, partakes of the nature of an ordeal. It is called *sumi-iro*, or the "colour of ink." Suppose that a theft has oc-

curred in a household. Then each domestic is required to write a certain word with the same brush and the same solution of Indian ink. The writing should take place, if possible, in the presence of the diviner, but that condition is not essential. Conscience is supposed to betray its working in the lines of the ideographs written. There is in this device a practical element that often secures the desired result. It is on record that when the Emperor Inkyo (411–453 A. D.) commanded the ordeal of boiling water as a means of detecting usurpers of noble names, the guilty folks ran away rather than submit to the test. Something of the same kind frequently happens when the *sumi-iro* device is employed; but, under any circumstances, the tracing of an ideograph involves such an effort of muscular directness and undivided attention that the quality of a suspected person's writing may often have much significance.

The simplest and perhaps the most senseless method of divination is by the abacus (*soroban*). Its use is confined to cases of illness. To the number of years that the patient has lived are added the numbers of the month and of the day of his birth. The sum thus obtained is multiplied by 3 and divided by 9. If the remainder is 3 or a smaller number, recovery is considered certain. If it is a number between 3 and 6, the case is grave, the danger growing as the remainder ascends. Equal division is counted as a remainder of 9, and signifies certain death.

The reference just made to the ordeal of boiling water brings the student to the confines of a wide realm of superstitions based upon *Shintō* belief in the omnipresence of the tutelary spirits and translated into visible phenomena through the agency of hypnotism. The Japanese seem to have discovered, at a very early period, that an abnormal nervous condition can be produced by concentrated attention and abeyance of the will, and, like many other peoples to whom a scientific explanation of the fact had not presented itself, they interpreted the strange condition to mean spirit-possession. Prayer and incantation, preceded by purificatory rites and assisted by violent finger-twistings, were the means employed to produce this mesmeric state, and the person reduced to it became a spirit-medium, gifted with the power of performing miracles, of uttering predictions, and of curing diseases. The range of miracles was limited to three, — sprinkling boiling water over the body without feeling the heat, ascending on bare feet a ladder of razor-sharp sword-blades, and walking with naked soles over a bed of live coals,[1] — all of which are constantly practised by *Shintō* priests and devotees to this day. It must be noted that these performances do not seem to have been degraded by charlatans in any era into mere money-making spectacles. Their object has always been to vivify religious faith. As for the faculty of vaticination supposed to be

[1] See Appendix, note 59.

developed during the sacred trance, its uses are of the simplest character. It might, indeed, be more accurately described as *clairvoyance*, since it discloses events actually happening beyond the range of normal observation rather than events still lying in the lap of the future. For the rest, it does not occupy any prominent place in the usages or thoughts of the nation. The healing power, however, is frequently invoked; for all sickness and disease being attributed to the influence of evil spirits, it seems natural and proper that the tutelary deities should be summoned to drive out these demoniacal tormentors. This record is confined to a mere outline sketch of the connection that the *Shintō* creed undertakes to establish between its disciples and supernatural beings. To fill in the details of the picture would involve long descriptions of rites and incantations which precede and accompany spirit-possession, but are only accessories, having much the same relation to the central phenomenon as the faceted glass held before a subject's eyes in Europe has to the mesmeric state induced by staring at it.

The *Ichiko* or *Kuchi-yose* belongs to this context. She is a species of medium who undertakes to summon the soul of a dead person (*shini-ryo*) or a living (*iki-ryo*), and to make it speak its owner's thoughts through the mouth of another. This custom seems to have had its origin in the Heian epoch, and to have been continued through all generations without change. The *Ichiko* uses

a bow for the rite, and as she draws the string she utters the following form of incantation: —

"Reverentially I entreat the deities, those of heaven, Bontentaishaku and Shitendaio; those of hell, Emmaō and Godōmeikwan; all the deities of the sky and of the earth; the Deity of the Well; the Deity of the Hearth; the Goddess of the Sun at her Shrine in Ise, at her forty sub-shrines and at her eighty branch-shrines; the Deity of Rain; the Deity of the Wind; the Deity of the Moon; the Deity of the Sun; all the deities of divine seats of government and of the Great Shrine of Idzumo; the ninety-eight thousand and seven gods and the thirteen thousand and four denizens of Buddhist sanctuaries. Vouchsafe the divine presence. Teach us so that there shall be no lack of knowledge. Oh, God of the Bow! Oh, Spirits of our relatives! Oh, Souls of parents! Man may change; water may be transformed, but this bow, five feet in length, is immutable. Let the bow twang once and its sound will reach the sacred place in every temple."

The *Ichiko's* function as a medium of penetrating the thoughts of other persons, living or dead, is little utilised in modern times, but the sick often appeal to her, and it is beyond doubt that many faith cures are effected by her influence.

No form of superstition is more general than the belief that each individual has special reason to apprehend misfortune at certain periods of his existence, — the twenty-fifth, forty-second, and sixty-first years of life in the case of men, and the nineteenth, thirty-third, and thirty-seventh in the case of women. During these unlucky years

exceptional attention is paid to religious exercises of all kinds. There are also years to which the epithet "closed" (*happō-fusagari*) is applied in the sense that no change of residence must be made or journey undertaken during the twelvemonth. These years are the same for both sexes, — the sixteenth, twenty-fifth, thirty-fourth, forty-third, fifty-second, and sixty-first.

It need scarcely be said that a prophetic import attaches to some of the commonest incidents. The loud cawing of rooks or the prolonged barking of dogs is considered ominous of evil, whereas a visit from a spider at daylight, sneezing on New Year's morn, or a glowing lamp-wick portends good fortune.

There are also various devices for enlisting the benevolent interest of the deities. Some ladies never cut out material for a costume without uttering a set formula of invocation, or placing three pinches of rice on the shoulder gusset, and nearly all eschew the "monkey" days of the calendar and choose the "bird" days for such operations, the belief being that burns and rents will result if the former precaution be neglected, and that in the latter case the garment will be as durable as the plumage of a bird.

Many superstitions are connected with children. Thus, when a little one's tooth falls out, it is thrown under the eaves or the floor with a wish, in the former case, that it may be replaced by a demon's tooth, and, in the latter case, by a rat's.

The word "puppy" written on the forehead averts nightmares; blood taken from a cock's comb cures an indigestion resulting from a surfeit of rice dumplings, and an eruption on the head is driven away by twice reciting the sentence, "In the long days of spring weeds may be removed, but those in the garden must be cut down at once." A baby's crying is stopped by tying on its back a red cotton bag containing dog's hair; by putting under its bed straw taken from a pig-sty; by rubbing the powder of an herb on the soles of the feet or the palms of the hands, or by writing certain ideographs on paper and placing it under the pillow. The bone of a mole's head thrust into a child's pillow charms it to sleep, and loss of sight from smallpox is prevented by throwing seven peas into a well, saying seven prayers over them, and then drawing all the water from the well. Food bought with sixteen cash on the 16th of June and given to a child of sixteen guarantees it against penury throughout life. Pieces of straw taken from under the bed of a newly born infant's mother and fastened to the little one's head, ensure it against aversion to bathing, and if the placenta is buried with a pen, a cake of ink, and a needle, the baby will ultimately distinguish itself in calligraphy and sewing. There are numerous devices for facilitating childbirth, — the woman swallows a piece of paper on which the name of the province of Ise is written; or a petal of lotus having the ideograph for

"man" inscribed on it; or a peach-stone divided into two parts, one with the ideograph "able" written on it, the other with the ideograph "emerge." If the halves of a soja bean are swallowed, the character *i* having been traced on one and the character *se* on the other, then, should a male child be born, it will hold the bean in his left hand, whereas a female child will have it in her right. These are but a few of the many superstitions connected with childbirth and childhood, but in general the details do not lend themselves to narration.

Quaint methods of dealing with ordinary maladies are also practised. Bleeding at the nose is supposed to be checked by placing on the head a piece of paper folded into eight and dipped in freshly drawn well-water. A hiccough is driven away by applying under the knee a sheet of *hanshi*, folded to the left in the case of a man and to the right in the case of a woman. It is essential, however, that this aid should be rendered without the knowledge of the sufferer. Paralysis may be cured by putting on the tip of the nose dust gathered from a floor-mat and saying, "Take a trip to the capital;" a pain in the head, by placing on the pate a saucer containing a burning moxa; and toothache, by fumigating the tooth with the smoke of calcined *Nandina domestica*.[1] If a fish bone sticks in the throat, the phrase "A descendant of Sayemon Kenjuro of Izumo"

[1] See Appendix, note 60.

is written on the inside of a *saké* cup, and water from the cup is drunk by the sufferer. In case of dysentery the sick person, facing westward, swallows seven peas with some well-water drawn at dawn on the 1st of July, and intermittent fever is driven away by swallowing a paper on which is written the phrase, "The leaf falls and the ship sails." Such fantastic nostrums are innumerable. Sometimes a malady is treated by tying together a snake-gourd and a section of bamboo, the latter bearing this inscription: "My disease is hereby transferred to you. My name and age are ——," and throwing the whole into a river; sometimes the shell of a craw-fish is roasted and the odour inhaled; sometimes the skin is smeared with ink on which certain ideographs are traced; sometimes the whole body is rubbed with garlic. One of the most curious is the charm for removing a wen. The swelling is rubbed with a soja bean on the 7th of July; the bean is then planted in the hollow of the second tile on the southern face of the roof, and when the bean begins to sprout, boiling water is poured over it so that it withers away, the wen disappearing simultaneously.

Various methods are in vogue for exorcising evil influences. Branches of a peach-tree bending to the south and east are shaped into posts and erected at the corners of the house; or the blood of a white dog is smeared on all the entrances. A man desiring to be protected against calamity or accident traces in the air, with up-

ward-pointing finger, two crossed triangles, and outlines the ideograph "grow" inside them, reserving one stroke to be added on the following morning. There are formulæ to be repeated when an unexpected guest arrives, or when, by going abroad at night, one has to run the risk of encountering demons, or when one meets a funeral. In time of an epidemic, straw puppets are thrown into a river with ringing of bells and beating of drums, or an amulet showing the emaciated face of the saint Ganzan Daishi is fastened above the entrance. A very common practice is to protect children from whooping-cough by tracing impressions of their hands on paper which is posted over the lintel, and on the same position may often be seen rude sketches of the Guardian Deities (the Deva Kings), or of a wolf, satellite of the "God of the Three Peaks" (*Mitsumine*), these being a charm against infectious diseases in general. Similar security is obtained by carrying copper in the pocket, or by holding in the hand a red cotton bag containing the bone of a horse, or by throwing into a well on the 1st of January twenty red beans or seven pieces of *Sesamum orientalis*, and then drinking some of the water. The shell of a crab nailed over the entrances serves the purpose assigned to a horse-shoe in the Occident, and when fever is abroad folks write over their doors "Hisamatsu not at home," because the common appellation for contagious fever is *osome-kaze*, and Osome and

原
吉

Hisamatsu were lovers whose names have been handed down in story. Lost children are sought by a man carrying a cloth measure in his girdle on the left side, or by a woman carrying the same object on the right, and when the ideograph for "dog" is traced with the ring-finger on the forehead of a child taken out at night, the little one is safe against attacks from foxes, badgers, or rats.

It will readily be inferred that many superstitions are connected with love affairs. If one's night-robe is worn inside out, the object of one's affections will surely visit one in a dream; and a meeting with a lover is foreshadowed by the loosening of an undergarment's string, or by a sudden sneeze, or by irritation on the eyebrow or inside the ear, or by the stumbling of a horse, or by the appearance of a spider. An ink-stain on the sleeve indicates that one is loved, and curling hair, that one loves. On the other hand, the pain of unfaithfulness may be assuaged by tying rushes around the body or by keeping a shell of the *wasure-gai* (clam of forgetfulness) in one's pocket. If the bone of a dove that cooed on the 5th of the 5th month is placed in a red bag and carried on the person, conjugal affection is maintained. A wife may be cured of jealousy by making her eat the broiled flesh of a bush-warbler, or swallow pills made of red millet and the fruit of Job's tears; and her fidelity to her marriage vow may be tested by hiding in some part of her garments earth taken from the hoof of a horse

travelling eastward. The nose of a tiger suspended from the middle of a "ventilating panel" (*ramma*) ensures the birth of a male child, and barrenness may be cured by swallowing thrice on a certain day of the sexagenary calendar powdered blossoms of the *ginko* and the peach dried in shade on another fixed day of the same calendar.

The realm of dreamland is peopled with superstitions. As in the Occident so in Japan, the dreamer looks for a reality the opposite of what he sees in his visions, and he also employs the device of placing an object under his pillow to procure a lucky dream. A picture of the "treasure-ship" (*takara-bune*) laden with riches and navigated by the Seven Gods of Fortune, is frequently used on New Year's Eve for that purpose, and a sketch of the *Baku* — a tapir supposed to swallow evil dreams — is considered efficacious for averting unlucky visions. The latter purpose may also be achieved by placing one of the person's wooden clogs erect and the other face downward when going to bed. Some rustics never fail to go under a mulberry-tree and repeat three times inaudibly the details of the preceding night's dream. Otherwise calamity is inevitable. Special significance attaches to certain objects seen in dreams, as is the case in all countries. A conflagration witnessed in sleep portends the birth of a child among one's relatives; a woman who has a vision of a sword may expect a lover; and of all objects presenting them-

selves in a New Year's dream, the most fortunate are believed to be, first, Fujiyama; second, a hawk, and, third, an egg-plant.

A very long catalogue of curious recipes are handed down from generation to generation among the lower orders as efficacious against mischief from insects or reptiles. Generally these remedies consist in reciting some formula or placarding it at suitable places, and it is easy to perceive the connection between such acts and the recitation of rituals by *Shintō* priests in former times. That explanation, however, does not cover cases like the blowing of a horn at the foot of a tree attacked by insects; or the tracing of an ideograph (*no*) in the air to paralyse a dragon-fly that one desires to catch; or the removal of a stone from beneath a bee-hive and placing the foot on its reverse side in order to avoid being stung by the bees; or the carrying of a dried beetle as a charm to increase one's wardrobe; or the pulling of one's own ear with the left hand by way of preliminary to grasping a snake; or the burying of an old calendar near a weazel's hole in order to drive away the animal. Horses are believed to be specially amenable to the influence of poetic spells. An untethered horse can be prevented from leaving a fixed place by simply informing it in verse that all routes to the four points of the compass are closed, and it can be induced to walk quietly into a ship by uttering thrice in its left ear the couplet:—

"On the Ryusha River
Floats the Indian ferry;
Horse and man embarking
Find the way to heaven."

A dog is less open to suggestion, but it may be prevented from biting by turning towards it the palm of the hand having the ideograph "tiger" inscribed; and its bite can be cured by rubbing the place with a tiger's bone, or, in default of that commodity, rubbing with the hand and muttering "Come tiger, come tiger." There is an elaborate form of recitation and finger-bending to deter a mad dog from biting, and the bone of a tortoise's foot held in the left hand protects a man against being bewitched by a fox or a badger. Cats are not generally considered dangerous, though it is deemed necessary to keep them away from a dead body by placing a sword near the corpse. To kill a cat is to become accursed to the seventh generation, and if a pet cat strays, it may be immediately recalled by erasing from the calendar the day of the animal's disappearance.

Among the commonest superstitions may be mentioned a habit, among children and women, of hanging out a paper doll (*teri-teri-bōzu*) to secure fine weather; the custom of standing a broom upside down to drive away an unwelcome guest, or of burning a bit of dried *mogusa* (*Artemisia moxa*) on his sandals with the same object; and the care taken by females to

avoid the use of words suggesting unfortunate events.[1]

The belief borrowed from Taoism that every inanimate object has a spirit, and that the ills of life are due to malignant demons, is utilised by a large number of persons who make it their business to go from house to house, repeating formulæ to propitiate the demons. Some of these quasi-religionists, who are in reality a species of beggar, undertake to make the needle of the seamstress move deftly or the chop-sticks convey only wholesome food to the mouth. Some pronounce spells against conflagration and burglary; some pledge themselves to make a religious pilgrimage in lieu of any one willing to employ them, and all pronounce a blessing on households bestowing alms, such a blessing as: "Every good be with you for the thousand years of the crane, the ten thousand of the tortoise, the eight thousand of Urashima Taro[2] and the nine thousand of Tōbō-saku.[3] These reverend mendicants used to be constantly seen in every city of Japan, wearing pseudo-sacerdotal costume, tolling a hand-bell or playing a flute as they passed from door to door, but their occupation has become comparatively unprofitable in modern times.

Spells are sometimes employed to bring injury on an enemy, especially when the latter is a rival in love. Unfastening her hair, binding a mirror

[1] See Appendix, note 61.
[2] See Appendix, note 62.
[3] See Appendix, note 63.

on her bosom, and walking on high clogs, the jealous woman proceeds to a temple at the hour of the Ox (midnight), and nails to some sacred tree a straw effigy of her rival. But, on the whole, the idea of invoking aid from deity or demon for the purpose of working mischief was never widely entertained in Japan.

This record might be very much extended, but it has already reached almost excessive length. It suggests that the Japanese are eminently superstitious; and so they certainly are with a reservation, namely, that the upper classes are perhaps as little troubled by such phantasies as any people in the world. What has been written above applies almost entirely to the middle and lower orders of the people. They unquestionably allow a considerable element of the supernatural to obtrude itself into their daily lives, and the fact may suggest to some critics a low estimate of Japanese intellectual development. Yet when the student recalls the history of Occidental credulity from the days of the Alexandrian Platonists to the times of Swedenborg and Werner and the era of American spirit-materialisers, he may be less disposed to pronounce harsh judgments on the traditional mysticism which has been handed down from generation to generation in the secluded family circle of the Japanese nation.

Appendix

Appendix

NOTE 1. — This operation should be called more properly a reversion to gold monometallism. The currency system, established by Japanese financiers at the beginning of the *Meiji* era was based on the gold standard, the unit being the gold *yen*, a coin worth four shillings, in round numbers. But, in the first place, Japan's stock of gold was soon driven out of the country by her depreciated fiat currency, and, in the second, as all other Oriental nations were silver-using, and as the silver Mexican dollar was the unit of accounts in Far-Eastern trade, Japan ultimately drifted into silver monometallism, the silver *yen* becoming her unit of currency. So soon, however, as the indemnity that she received from China after the war of 1894–1895 had placed her in possession of a stock of gold, she determined to revert to the gold standard. Mechanically speaking, the operation was very easy. Gold having appreciated so that its value in terms of silver had exactly doubled during the first thirty years of the *Meiji* era, nothing was necessary except to double the denominations of the gold coins in terms of *yen*, leaving the silver subsidiary coins unchanged. Thus the old 5-*yen* gold piece, weighing 2.22221 *momme* of 900 fineness, became a 10-*yen* piece in the new currency, and a new 5-*yen* piece of half the weight was coined. No change whatever was required in the reckonings of the people. The *yen* continued to be their coin of account, with a fixed sterling value of a little over two shillings, and the denominations of the gold coins were doubled. Gold, however, is little seen in Japan: the whole duty of currency is done by notes.

NOTE 2. — The amounts include the payments made in connection with what may be called the disestablishment of the

Church. There were 29,805 endowed temples and shrines throughout the Empire, and their estates aggregated 354,481 acres, together with 1,750,000 bushels of rice (representing 2,500,000 *yen*). The Government resumed possession of all these lands and revenues at a total cost to the State of a little less than 2,500,000 *yen*, paid out in pensions spread over a period of fourteen years. The measure sounds like wholesale confiscation. But some extenuation is found in the fact that the temples and shrines held their lands and revenues under titles which, being derived from the feudal chiefs, depended for their validity on the maintenance of feudalism.

NOTE 3. — This sum represents interest-bearing bonds issued in exchange for fiat notes, with the idea of reducing the volume of the latter. It was a tentative measure and proved of no value.

NOTE 4. — Japan's fleet at the time of the war consisted of comparatively small vessels, the largest being three coast-defence ships of 4,278 tons. She captured from China an armour-clad of 7,335 tons, — the first line-of-battle ship in her navy. Her *post-bellum* fleet now includes six first-class battleships, ranging from 12,500 to 15,000 tons, approximately; six first-class cruisers of 9,200 tons; nine second-class cruisers, ranging from 3,700 to 4,800 tons; ten third-class cruisers, ranging from 3,300 tons, etc.

NOTE 5. — Japan suffers severely from inundations. It has been estimated that the average annual loss from this source does not fall short of 19,000,000 *yen*. In 1887 an extensive scheme of riparian improvement was undertaken. It involved a total expenditure of 26,000,000 *yen*, of which 6,000,000 had been expended when the war with China broke out.

NOTE 6. — All Japan's domestic loans are now placed on a uniform basis. They carry five per cent interest, run for a period of five years without redemption, and are then redeemed within fifty years at latest. The Treasury has competence to expedite the operation of redemption according to financial convenience, but the sum expended on amortisation each year must receive the previous consent of the Diet. Within the limit of that sum redemption is effected either by purchasing the stock of the loans in the open market or by drawing lots to determine the bonds to be paid off. Perhaps a more suggestive idea may

be furnished of Japan's finance during the *Meiji* era by noting that, owing to processes of conversion, consolidation, etc., and to various requirements of the State's progress, twenty-two different kinds of national bonds were issued from 1870 to 1896; that they aggregated 673,215,500 *yen*; that 269,042,198 *yen* of that total had been paid off at the close of 1897, and that the remainder will be redeemed, according to the present programme, by 1946.

NOTE 7. — Income tax is payable, not only by Japanese subjects, but also by all persons having a domicile in Japan, or having resided there for more than one year. The minimum taxable income is 300 *yen* (£30) annually, and the rate for such an income is one per cent. As the income increases, so does the rate, up to a limit of five and one half per cent, which is paid by persons having an income of 100,000 *yen* (£10,000) or upward. There is a business tax which is levied on various branches of business; as, sales of merchandise, banking, insurance, warehousing, manufacturing, printing, photography, transportation, restaurants, hotels, factors, and brokers. When levied on the amount of mercantile transactions, it is $\frac{1}{2000}$ for wholesale dealers and $\frac{3}{2000}$ for retail dealers. In other cases, it is levied at the rate of $\frac{2}{1000}$ on the capital engaged, or at the rate of from two per cent to six per cent on the rental value of the buildings employed. When a business is carried on partly in a foreign country and partly in Japan, only the capital used in Japan is liable to tax. The taxes on vehicles and *sakê* do not call for any special notice. Stamp-duties and registration fees are also collected.

NOTE 8. — The efficiency of money has greatly increased, of course, during recent years. Thus whereas, in 1873, there were only half a dozen banks with a total capital of six thousand pounds, and aggregate loans of the same amount, approximately, the number at the close of 1899 was 2,296, with a total capital of 49,500,000 sterling and loans aggregating 267,000,000. In 1873 the sums deposited by individuals in banks amounted to 500,000; in 1892, they aggregated 33,000,000. In 1887, the year after the establishment of clearing-houses in Tōkyō and Ōsaka, the clearances aggregated less than 3,000,000 sterling; in 1899, they totalled over 129,000,000.

NOTE 9. — The tariff was fixed originally on a basis of ten per cent duty on imports, but in 1865 Japan consented, under heavy pressure and even armed menace, to reduce the rate to five per cent. This, too, was only nominal, for the conversion of *ad valorem* duties into specific was managed in such a manner that the sum actually levied on imports did not average as much as two and a half per cent of their value at the port of shipment.

NOTE 10. — This idea was founded partly on the inferior stature and weight of the Japanese. The average height of the adult male Japanese, according to Dr. E. Baelz, the best authority on the ethnography of Japan, is 5 ft. 2½ in., and that of the adult female, 4 ft. 8⅓ in. Thus the male in Japan is about as tall as the female in Europe. The weight of the male is 150 lbs. in the lower orders, and from 140 to 145 lbs. in the upper (against an average weight of 188 lbs. in Europe) ; the woman weighs from 122 to 125 lbs. It will be convenient to set down here some salient facts as to the physical structure and properties of the people, following always the authority of Dr. Baelz. The Japanese grows only eight per cent of his stature from the time of puberty, whereas the European grows thirteen per cent. The bulk of the people are strong. The upper classes are comparatively weakly, but the lower are robust and muscular. In the matter of weight, as well as in that of height, development ceases sooner in the Japanese than in the European. The head is large, the face and torso are long, the legs short. Indeed, the length of the torso and the shortness of the legs are so marked as to constitute a race characteristic. In a European the length of the leg from the trochanter to the ground is more than one-half of the length of the body ; in the Japanese it is distinetly less. The face, in consequence of the low bridge of the nose, is less prominent than that of the European, and appears to be broader, but is not really so. The forehead is low ; the vertical distance between the tip of the nose and the upper lip, very small. The mouth is sometimes small and shapely, but frequently it is large and the teeth are prognathous. The eye is always dark, generally of a fine brown. It seems to be oblique, but the obliquity is due to the position of the lids. Further, the upper lid is

almost a direct continuation of the skin of the forehead, instead of being recessed under the eyebrow, as is the case in Europeans. The cheeks are broad and flat; the chin, narrow; the legs are often crooked and graceless, especially in women; the calves are strongly developed; the ankles thick; the feet broad; the arms, hands, and neck remarkably graceful; the skin is light yellow, often not darker than that of southern Europeans, but sometimes as dusky as that of the Singhalese. The Japanese belong to the least hirsute of the human species. Their hair is black and straight. It turns grey at the age of forty-five to fifty, but baldness is comparatively rare. Dr. Baelz concludes that the finer type of the Japanese came from the borders of the Euphrates and Tigris, and that they belonged to the same stock as the Egyptians.

NOTE 11. — The number of these students had reached two hundred by the middle of 1901.

NOTE 12. — The highest rate of subscription to a daily journal is twelve shillings *per annum*, and the usual charge for advertisements is from sevenpence to one shilling per line of twenty-two ideographs (about nine words).

NOTE 13. — The total local expenditures are a little over 40 million *yen* annually. They increased from 25 millions to 40 millions in a period of five years (1895–1899), but the increase is not an evidence of extravagance in administration, as 11 millions of it was devoted to useful public works, and nearly 2 millions to education. Revenue to meet these outlays is derived from five taxes, — land-rate (13⅓ millions), house-tax (5⅓ millions), business tax (2¾ millions), and miscellaneous tax (3½ millions). A large sum is obtained from property owned by the local administrations, and the Central Treasury grants aids to the extent of 4½ million *yen*. The system of local taxation is complicated, but, speaking generally, two kinds of impost have to be paid, first, a prefectural tax, and, secondly, a town or district tax. Some of the local taxes are levied on the basis of the national tax — in which case the former must not exceed a certain fixed fraction of the latter; some are levied independently, as taxes on houses, vehicles, and draft-animals. A marked distinction is made between vehicles or animals kept for hire and those maintained by private individ-

uals, and the same principle of graduation observed in the case of the income tax is applied to the house tax, so that the burden decreases rapidly as the poorer classes are reached.

NOTE 14. — The mayor of a town (*shicho*) is nominated by the Minister of State for Home Affairs from among three men chosen by the town assembly.

NOTE 15. — The number of police-offices in the Empire (including Formosa) is 13,821, and the total number of police officials of all grades, 32,910, or 1 for every 1,421 of the population. The police force has been increased by 4,591 during the past five years, but of that increment the newly organised force for Formosa represents 2,934. There are 365 tribunals of justice, presided over by 1,201 judges with the assistance of 471 public procurators and 5,987 clerks. It has been complained that the number of tribunals and their *personnel* are not sufficient to discharge the business coming before them. The criticism is probably just, but statistics show that the courts perform their functions rapidly, for in 1897 — the latest year included in the published records — they dealt with 313,571 cases altogether, namely, 7,654 appeals and 133,472 first-instance cases, in civil suits; 8,507 questions of conciliation; and 8,723 appeals, and 155,215 first-instance or magisterial cases, in criminal matters.

NOTE 16. — Ichikawa's view has been ably summarised by Sir Earnest Satow. He sets out by declaring that all unwritten traditions must be considered unworthy of belief, not only because they rest on the very fallible testimony of memory and hearsay, but also because the most striking, and therefore the most improbable, stories are precisely those most likely to be thus preserved. He then goes on to show that, on the most favourable hypothesis, the art of writing did not become known in Japan until a thousand years had separated the reign of the first mortal ruler from the compilation of the first manuscript record. He conjectures that "Amaterasu" was a title of comparatively modern invention. He contends that no cosmogony can be credible which makes vegetation antecedent to the birth of the sun. He declares unhesitatingly that the claim of sun-genesis was probably invented by the earliest Mikado for political purposes. He denies that the gods in heaven make any

racial distinctions, geographical conditions being alone responsible for such accidents. He refuses to accept any arithmetic of years when the calculators were men without cyclical signs or assisting script, and he concludes by declaring that if the ancestors of living men were not human beings, they are more likely to have been animals or birds than gods, — by which last proposition he seems to indicate a belief in progressive evolution.

NOTE 17. — This remarkable scholar and philosopher was born in 1730 and died in 1801. He is justly regarded by his countrymen as the greatest interpreter of their ancient faith. The brief review of his opinions given in the text is a summary of Sir Earnest Satow's analysis of his works in "The Revival of Pure *Shintō*."

NOTE 18. — Hirata Atsutane.

NOTE 19. — Being constructed of wood, the buildings are so perishable that instead of resorting to a process of constant repair, new edifices are erected, on an alternate site, every second decade.

NOTE 20. — The offerings varied, more or less, but generally included a bow, a sword, a mirror, a silk baldachin, "bright cloth, glittering cloth, fine cloth, and coarse cloth," *saké* jars, sweet herbs and bitter herbs, "things narrow of fin and wide of fin," etc., all of which, to use the language of the ritual, were "piled up like ranges of hills."

NOTE 21. — These funeral orations often rise to heights of remarkable pathos, dignity, and beauty, and are read aloud by the chief priest in a manner at once simple and impressive.

NOTE 22. — The language of these rituals is sometimes full of fervour and eloquence.

NOTE 23. — Compare Mr. Alfred Wallace's account of the young lady's "double," inspected with a phosphorus lamp and afterwards embraced by a fellow of the Royal Society.

NOTE 24. — Closely resembling the "Pottergeist" of the Germans, and having some affinities with the "Pixies" of Anglo-Saxondom.

NOTE 25. — From *tori* (a bird) and *i* (to rest, or perch).

NOTE 26. — Thousands of these miniature shrines are to be seen in the rice-fields or in the vicinity of hamlets. They are erected in honour of the Spirit of Food. As to the name

"Inari," it is said by some sinologues to be that of a place, but the general belief in Japan makes it a contraction of *ine-ninai*, or the rice-carrier. The fox is supposed to be an agent of the god; hence the stone foxes usually placed near the shrine.

NOTE 27. — Mr. Percival Lowell has published a delightfully written volume on this subject.

NOTE 28. —

Kokoro dani
Makoto no michi ni
Kanainaba,
Inorazu totemo
Kami ga mamoran.

That is the code of *Shintō* ethics as summed up in the tenth century by Fujiwara no Michizane, the deity *Tenjin* of subsequent eras.

NOTE 29. — "The Revival of Pure *Shintō*," Satow, in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

NOTE 30. — It was believed that man depended on the wind for his breath.

NOTE 31. — The Terrestrial Deities ruled over the "Unseen." They were the god O-kuni-nushi (who yielded the sovereignty of Japan to Ninigi), and his consort Suberi-hime. On them devolved the direction of everything that could not be ascribed to a definite author: as the tranquillity of the State, its prosperity, and the lives and fortunes of its people.

NOTE 32. — Hirata Atsutane in "The Revival of Pure *Shintō*," Satow.

NOTE 33. — "The Spirits of the dead," writes Hirata Atsutane in the *Tama no Mihashira*, "continue to exist in the unseen world, which is everywhere about us. They all become gods of varying character and degrees of influence. Some reside in temples built in their honour; others never leave their tombs. They continue to render services to their princes, wives, and children, as when in the body." Elsewhere he says: "You cannot hope to live more than a hundred years under the most favourable circumstances, but as you will go to the Unseen Realm of O-kuni-nushi after death and be subject to his rule, learn betimes to bow down before him."

NOTE 34. — The final use to which these pieces of wood were put is curious. They had to be exchanged every half

year for new fragments, and the old were employed to light the fire under a bath for the virgin priestesses that danced at the festival of purification.

NOTE 35. — A hare, desiring to cross from a mid-ocean island to the mainland, taunted the sea-sharks by alleging that its tribe numbered more than theirs. By way of practical test, it invited them to range themselves in line between shore and shore. That done, the hare, jumping from back to back and professing to count as it leaped, reached its desired destination. But ultimately conceit prompted it to jeer before its feet were fairly planted on dry land, and by the last shark in the line its skin was torn off. As it lay writhing and weeping, a band of deities approached. The elder brothers of O-kuni-nushi (the terrestrial ruler of Japan), they were journeying to pay court to Princess Yakimi of Inaba, whom they all loved. Observing the hare's misery, they bade it bathe in the brine of the sea and lie thereafter exposed to sun and wind, by which unkindly prescription the animnal's sufferings were doubled. Presently O-kuni-nushi, who had been degraded by his brothers to the position of baggage-carrier, came along bearing his burden. He told the unhappy hare to wash in the fresh water of the river and roll its body in the pollen of the sedges; and being thus restored, it promised that he, not his brothers, should win the princess, which so fell out.

NOTE 36. — This is a complete answer to the shallow critics who allege that love, in the Occidental sense of the term, is not known in Japan. Hope of finding beyond the grave the union which in life circumstances forbid, is responsible for suicides so numerous that the theory of these critics becomes mere silliness.

NOTE 37. — Motoori Motonaga, the celebrated exponent of "Pure *Shintō*" in the eighteenth century endorses the above view which has here been arrived at by direct comparison of Chinese philosophy and Japanese history. He says that the ethics enumerated by the Sages of China may be reduced to two simple rules: "Take other people's territory and hold it fast when you 've got it," and he distinctly attributes to the influence of Chinese learning the contumacy shown toward the *Mikado* in the middle ages by the Hōjō, the Ashikaga, and others. He

might have greatly extended his list and carried it back much farther.

NOTE 38. — It may be accepted as a historical fact that eight names instituted by the Emperor Temmu at the close of the seventh century corresponded pretty closely with our modern idea of titles of nobility. For example, members of the *Kwobetsu*, who became governors of provinces, received the name *Mabito*. Members of the same tribe hitherto called *Omi* were thenceforth designated *A-son*; others previously called *Muraji*, became *Suku-ne*, and so on.

NOTE 39. — The chief *Shintō* official at the great shrine in Izuma claims to be the eighty-second descendant in a direct line from the deity Susano-o.

NOTE 40. — The five negative precepts were, not to kill, not to be guilty of dishonesty, not to be lewd, not to speak untruth, not to drink intoxicants; the ten virtues were, to be kind to all sentient beings, to be liberal, to be chaste, to speak the truth, to employ gentle and peace-making language, to use refined words, to express everything in a plain, unexaggerated manner, to devote the mind to moral thoughts, to practise charity and patience, and to cultivate pure intentions.

NOTE 41. — In this stage he passed to the consideration of the four verities, the twelve-linked chain of causation, the four aspirations, and the six transcendental virtues.

NOTE 42. — The Tendai (Heavenly command) Sect, founded by Dengyo Daishi in 805 A. D., under Imperial auspices. It had its chief headquarters at the celebrated monastery of Hiyei-zan.

NOTE 43. — It was from this time that *Shintō* and Buddhism became commingled into the form of creed known as *Ryobu-Shintō*.

NOTE 44. — Fate, with its proverbial irony, decreed that the monastery where this unworldly and meditative sect had its headquarters should have a history resonant with the clash of arms. The monks of Hiyei-zan became, from an early date, a community of soldiers.

NOTE 45. — Lloyd's "Developments of Japanese Buddhism," a work of high value to students of this subject.

NOTE 46. — This sect received much patronage from the

Imperial Court, as well as from the Tokugawa Shōguns. The great temple, Zojō-ji, which stands among the Tokugawa Mausolea in Shiba, belongs to the *Jōdo-shu* (Shu-sect).

NOTE 47. — *Shin-shu*, called also *Montō-shu* (Sect of gate-disciples), and *Ikko-shu* (Undivided sect), founded by Shinran in 1224 A. D.

NOTE 48. — Statistics compiled in 1790 show that there were then 469,934 temples in Japan, of which 140,884 belonged to the Spirit Sect (*Shin-shu*); 140,020 to the Pure Land Sect (*Jōdo-shu*), and 33,020 to the Nichiren Sect, the other sects having comparatively small numbers.

NOTE 49. —These doctrines, as expounded by responsible heads of the sect, are fully set forth in the "Annales du Musée Guimet" (1880).

NOTE 50. — "The Doctrines of Nichiren;" compiled by the Right Virtuous Abbot Kobayashi; translated by Messrs. K. Tatsumi and F. H. Balfour.

NOTE 51. — Near Tōkyō. The festival takes place in October.

NOTE 52. —*Rokkon shōjō*, a prayer for the purification of the six senses, — eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and spirit. Out of the colourlessness of the *Shintō* of Motoori and Haruta a sect grew which enjoys some influence to-day, the *Tenri-kyo*, with its twelve hymns and dances and its faith-cures.

NOTE 53. — Some strange admissions were made to the *Shintō* pantheon which had grown too large to be accurately controlled. The grave of a wrestler (Narihira) in Yedo came to be mistaken for that of the famous poet of the same name, and *litterateurs* constantly worshipped there. A groom called Koraku, a criminal called Nezu, and more than one notorious malefactor received apotheosis from the ignorant multitude on account of legends associated with their memories.

NOTE 54. — The State grants a sum of 216,000 *yen* annually for the support of *Shintō* shrines, and extends no aid whatever to Buddhism.

NOTE 55. — The use of *sakaki* (*Cleyera Japonica*) is referred to the sylvan method of worship practised in the earliest times. A space surrounded by thick trees constituted the hall of rites. The trees were called a "sacred fence" (*himorori*), and it seems

probable that strips of the cloth offered to the deities were hung from the branches. Thus, even after a shrine had been built to receive the divine insignia (the mirror, the sword, and the jewel), a bough of *sakaki* with white pendants (*go-hei*) continued to be included in the paraphernalia of the ceremony of worship.

NOTE 56. — It might be supposed that many Emperors would have received this distinction. But among the hundred and twenty-eight sovereigns that have sat on the throne of Japan, two only — Ojin and Kwammu — are thus honoured. On the other hand, great subjects have been deified much more frequently: for example, Sugawara no Michizane (Temman), Kusunoki Masashige (Minatogawa), Tokugawa Iyeyasu (*Tōsho*), Hideyoshi the *Tōiko* (Toyokuni), etc.

NOTE 57. — *Daijin-gu* (Ise); *Tai-sha* (Izumo); *Hachiman-gu* (Kyōtō); *Temman-gu* (Hakata); *Inari* (Kyōtō); *Kasuga* (Nara); *Atago* (Kyōtō); *Kompira* (Sanuki); *Suiten-gu* (Tōkyō), and *Suwa* (Shinano).

NOTE 58. — It is not absolutely correct to speak of a *Shintō* minister as a "priest." He is called *Shinkwan*, which signifies rather a "*Shintō* official."

NOTE 59. — Mr. Percival Lowell, in "Occult Japan," gives lengthy and picturesque accounts of these and other cognate performances. They are called *Kami-waza*, or deeds of the deities.

NOTE 60. — The supposed effect is that the germs of the caries are expelled from the patient's ear.

NOTE 61. — Thus a woman speaks of "water" as *o-hiya* (the honourable cold thing), rather than as *mizu*, because the latter word implies separation. Again, the old word for "rice," *shine*, has been changed into *yone*, because the former signifies also "death;" and for the same reason "four persons" are alluded to as *yottari*, not as *shinin*.

NOTE 62. — A fisherman who was transported to the submarine castle of the dragon king, where he lived unconscious of the flight of time.

NOTE 63. — A Chinese Merlin, who ate the sacred fruit of longevity.

DATE DUE

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
DS809 .B85 v.5
Brinkley, F./Japan, its history, arts, a
3 3645 00086756 7

DS809 .B74 1901
vol.5
Brinkley, F. (Frank),
1841-1912.
Japan, its history, arts,
and literature.

Dominican College Library
San Rafael, California